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1 April 1893.
From W. W. Stenull.

THE PRESENT STATE

OF THE

POOR-LAW QUESTION;

IN

LETTERS

TO THE

MARQUESS OF SALISBURY.

BY

CHARLES WETHERELL, M.A.

RECTOR OF BYFIELD,

IN THE COUNTY OF NORTHAMPTON.

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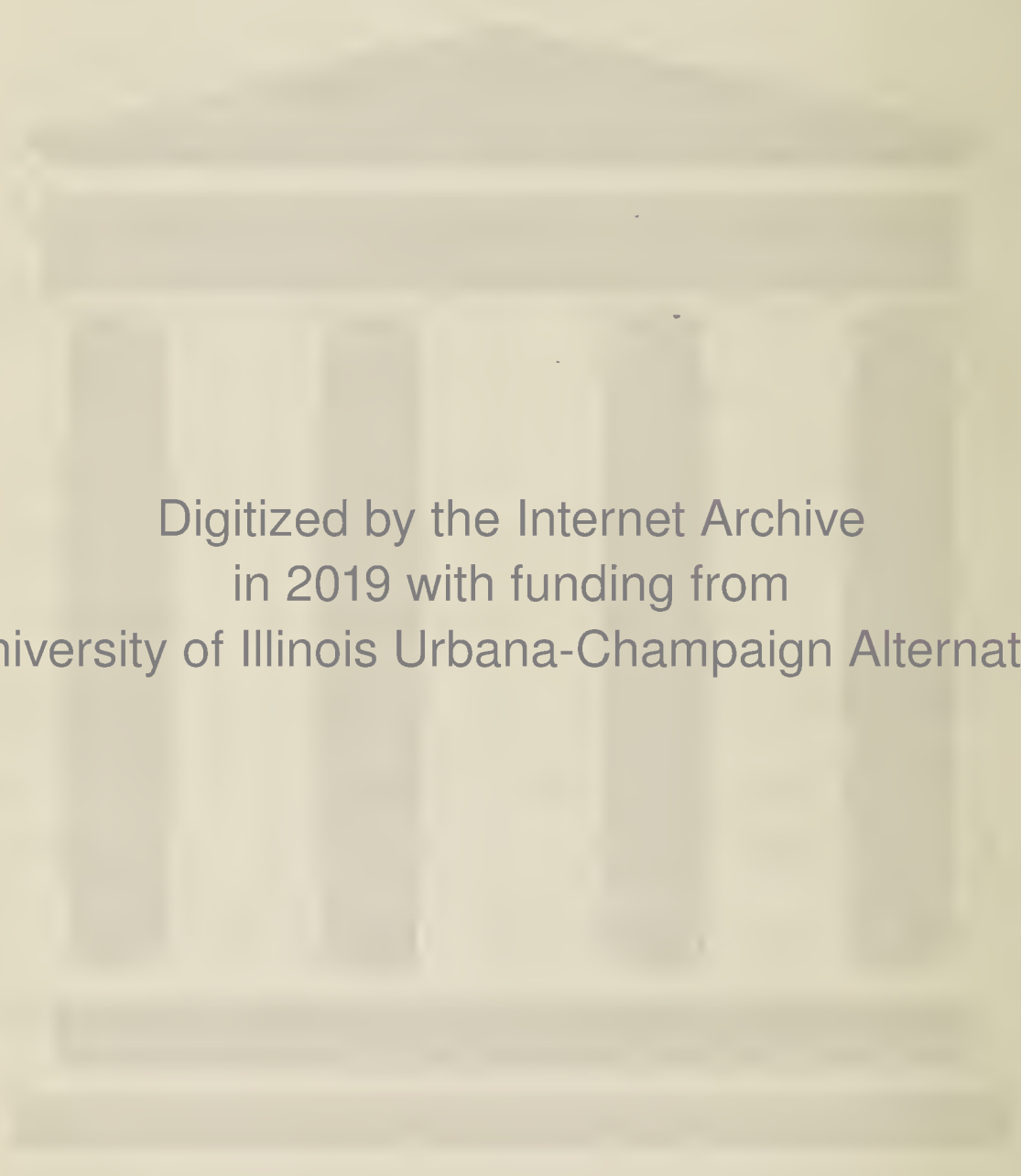
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ADVERTISEMENT.

FAILING to effect any permanent good by various acts of charity in his own parish, the writer endeavoured to regulate the vestry meeting in conjunction with his efforts of benevolence, which enabled him to obtain a view of the operation of the Poor Laws. Discovering that those laws threw perpetual obstacles in his way, and almost absorbed the good he sought to accomplish, he rather directed his attention to the amelioration of those laws; when he was unexpectedly requested to give evidence before the Committee of the House of Lords; which induced a wish to learn the opinions of other witnesses, particularly those of Mr. Becher. The perusal of that evidence led eventually to the following Letters.

Labor & Indolence Rel 24 Mar 47 David Law
 B. A. Law 16 Nov 54



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LETTERS

TO THE

MARQUESS OF SALISBURY,

&c.

LETTER I,

MY LORD,

THE summons I had the honour to receive from the MARQUESS OF BUTE to give evidence before “the Select Committee of the House of Lords, appointed to consider of the Poor Laws,” in December 1830, reaching me not two hours before I was expected to attend, prevented me from giving my sentiments their full developement; and though I subsequently put them into a more regular form, I preferred to wait till the evidence given before the Committee, by other witnesses, was printed, previously to the publication of my opinions. The breaking up of the Committee, however, entirely defeated my intention; and I should not now have ventured to renew the subject, had not the benevo-

lent wishes of a large portion of the affluent and influential to benefit the poor by letting them allotments of land, again called for the attention of Parliament.

To your Lordship, as Chairman of that Committee, it is natural I should wish to address my remarks in acknowledgment of the civilities I have always received from you, in connexion with this subject, and from the profound knowledge your Lordship evinced in committee on this intricate question; for the permission to do so, I beg now, most respectfully, to express my obligation.

To me it was no matter of surprise that the Committee discovered the difficulty of understanding the method of administering the Poor Laws generally adopted in agricultural districts, and acknowledged that difficulty in the only report their Lordships made to the House, and on which their Lordships introduced, and passed through the House of Lords, a Bill, intituled, "An Act for procuring Returns to Parliament annually of the amount and application of the monies collected by the Poor-rates in the several parishes in England and Wales," since, if your Lordship will do me the honour to refer to my evidence, it will be seen, that I endeavoured to direct the attention of the Committee to the importance of procuring correct returns, principally with regard to the payment of able-bodied labourers, partially, or occasionally, from the fund raised for the relief of the poor. "It appears to me," I then stated, "that the view we are almost compelled to take of the poor-rate does not afford us a correct estimation of it; that which is now paid for the relief of the labourer is mixed up with that which is paid for the relief of the aged, and sick, and impotent, who come more especially under the act of the 43rd of Queen Elizabeth."

The Report, ordered to be printed on the 15th of February, 1831, was as follows:

By the Lords Committees appointed a Select Committee to consider of the Poor Laws, and to report their Observations thereupon from time to time to the House ; and to whom was referred the Petition of George Gunning, of Frindsbury, in the county of Kent, a Lieutenant on the half-pay of His Majesty's first regiment of Dragoon Guards, praying their Lordships to take into consideration the state of the Poor Laws ; and to whom was also referred the Petition of the Magistrates, Minister, Churchwarden, and other Inhabitants and Parishioners of Ightham, praying for relief from the evils of pauperism ;

Ordered to report,

That the Committee have met, and have applied themselves to the consideration of the important subject referred to them. In pursuing this inquiry they have found material inconvenience from the impossibility of obtaining accurate accounts of the vast annual sums which are raised professedly for the support of the Poor.

The Committee are also of opinion that the variations made in the schedules prescribed by Parliament have not only caused considerable difficulty in framing the accounts, but also rendered it impossible to form any just comparison between the different items of expenditure, or any estimate of the extent of its misapplication at different periods ; and they have also found that, from the want of any general system, many months elapse before the accounts are submitted to Parliament.

They have therefore directed a Bill to be prepared for your Lordships' consideration, in which they have prescribed that form of accounts which appears to them likely to afford as much information as it is possible to expect from the complicated nature of parish expenditure ; and they beg to recommend that these returns should be made to Parliament under such regulations as your Lordships may deem best calculated to effect the object they have in view.

The Committee have only further to state, that they have been induced to call your Lordships' attention to such an apparently minor object at this early period of their inquiry, by the desire, if possible, to obtain a return of the parochial expenditure up to next Lady-day before the close of the present Session.

The necessity for their Lordships' remarks, no one who has seen the method of procuring returns* can possibly doubt, and especially when it is remembered that, for the year ending the 25th of March, 1827, no less than 484 parishes had not made any return.†

It is gratifying to me to observe, that by the last circular of the House of Commons, a separate return is ordered to be made of the amount expended for the employment of able-bodied labourers. Still, the necessity which exists for becoming acquainted with this item of expenditure applies to almost every other for the relief of the poor, though not with equal force.

My fears always prevailed, while the bill to which the report of their Lordships' Committee referred was passing through the House of Lords, that it would be found defective in the preceptive part of it. It seemed to call for that which did not exist, and for which it did not appear to make *sufficient* provision. The method to be adopted, if such bill can ever succeed, must be, I humbly presume, first to *regulate the mode of keeping parish accounts*: for unless there be some certain degree of uniformity in the plan of arranging the expenditure of parochial assessments, *as the disbursements occur*, it will be very troublesome

* For a copy of the Form for making returns see Appendix (A).

† In a note addressed to me, on the 22nd Sept. 1832, by Mr. Rickman, in reply to a request to be furnished with a copy of the return of the poor-rate for each county, for the year ending 25th March, 1832, which is printed annually, and which I supposed was already prepared, as the order was made by the House of Commons soon after Lady-day, and circulated very early; Mr. Rickman writes, "You overrate the facility of procuring intelligible returns, or any returns at all, from those who see trouble and no benefit in making them. If we send out at Easter 15,000 letters for the annual poor returns, about 3,000 defaulters have a second letter in the course of the summer, and further, I always expect to send about 1,000 letters, somewhat special and minatory, at Christmas. Thus, you see how impossible it is that the return for the year ending March, 1832, should appear till nearly March, 1833."

and difficult at the close of the year to exhibit any exact summary of the different items: and to call for returns of such items before such uniformity is obtained, must only perplex the parochial authorities, and render the performance of the duty that bill required of the magistrate so dissatisfactory to Parliament, as possibly to make the whole intention of the bill nugatory. That the uniformity in keeping the accounts might follow the demand for an assimilated return from every place, is undeniable; neither is it less reasonable to suppose that some precursory instructions would have provided the bill with a fairer chance of working well. And as the bill, with perhaps much justice, fixed a penalty for failing to make the required return, there would have been a great diminution of any just cause for murmuring, if the payment of the penalty were compellable only where obstinacy or neglect, and not the want of instruction, had been the occasion of incurring it. "The totals of the poor-rate accounts" only, had been called for in former years, and the sudden transition from the *totals* to the *items* of expenditure, was, I would respectfully suggest, more than might be expected; and the penalty for the non-transmission of them, so soon, too, after the close of the parochial year, had the semblance of approximating towards severity, especially without at least a twelvemonth's notice.

To attain such uniformity is perhaps not very easy. Much would depend upon the regularity of holding, and upon the efficiency of conducting, *the vestry meeting*. It frequently occurs that churchwardens refuse to contribute any assistance as overseers of the poor; and indeed they prefer to retain the office year after year, supposing it prevents their election to the office of overseer, under the belief that the one supersedes the claim of service for the other, not knowing that the duty of churchwarden includes that of overseer, and rather demands, primarily and more strictly, than in any degree ex-

empties from, the obligation to perform, such duty. Possibly a little too much disregard is paid to the matter by the magistrate, to whose feelings it may be preferable to have from a parish one regular and constant deputy overseer delegated, than annually to be troubled with four fresh parish officers, some, or most, of whom are but little accustomed to business, and unaccustomed to it chiefly because they depend upon the deputy; but if the whole were required always to unite in attending to their obligation and responsibility as overseers of the poor, it is more probable, than it can now be, that something not very far from such uniform assimilation might be accomplished.

Whether it be the duty of *the incumbent*, or not, to take care that parochial meetings be regularly summoned, and to preside over them, is not for me to venture to determine; or who has authority to require that they be regularly summoned and attended constantly by the churchwardens and overseers, I will not presume to assert; yet it is possible that to the neglect of holding such meetings, so constituted, much of the present enormity of expenditure may be attributable in the villages of agricultural counties, where there is not any workhouse. It is, however, certain that Burn, in his ‘*Ecclesiastical Law*,’ under the article ‘*Vestry*,’ writes, “that the *minister* hath a special duty incumbent on him in this matter, and must be responsible to the bishop for his care therein, and therefore in every parish meeting he presides, for regulating and directing this affair.” May then the magistrate represent to the ordinary the neglect of the minister to hold and regulate the business of such vestry meetings? and can the ordinary require and compel the minister and churchwardens of a parish to hold regular vestry meetings, in conjunction with the overseers, for the despatch of business? or may the whole of the obligation be counted obsolete? Perhaps these may be esteemed interesting and important questions: interesting, as it may be well

for the clergy to know how far they are involved in the obligation by their institution; and important, as it would very greatly diminish the business of the magistrate, if he were exonerated from the compulsion to investigate any case brought before him, until he knew it had been heard and rejected by the assembled vestry, consisting of the minister, churchwardens, overseers, and principal inhabitants.

If, however, under their superintendence and direction the accounts were uniformly kept, and regularly entered, returns might be obtained which would form very valuable statistical data,* as well as a correct mode of ascertaining comparative management; from which Parliament might learn the real condition of the poor, and the best plan of administering relief to them.

To a mode of keeping the accounts connected with parochial expenditure I beg to direct your Lordship's attention.†

It may be objected, that the items of these accounts are too numerous, by which the parochial book-keeping will be rendered intricate. The plan is intended for a parish where there is not any workhouse, or which does not send her poor to any incorporated workhouse, and therefore includes the whole of the disbursements. Yet I trust it will be acknowledged that the more distinct the items are, the more specific will be the laws which are to regulate them. To legislate against an evil, the cause, amount, or consequence of which is not known, because associated and blended with others, is to make laws at random,—an anomaly against the repetition of which their Lordships' Com-

* Political economists have been reproached with too small a use of facts, and too large an employment of theory. Let it not be feared that erroneous deductions may be made from such recorded facts; the errors which arise from the absence of facts are far more numerous and more durable than those which result from unsound reasoning respecting true data.—*Economy of Machinery and Manufactures*, by C. Babbage, Esq. p. 119.

† The accounts will be found in the Appendix (B).

mittee attempted to make provision, by the bill which did pass the upper house, because it required more distinct specification.

Does it not seem almost surrendering the evil to its own domination, without any attempt to reduce its force, if it be not carefully and minutely disentangled? I would therefore respectfully submit that the investigation should extend to the whole range of the expenditure, not omitting those minutiae which are comprised under the head of expenses for the sick, the blind, the impotent, &c. whether provided for in, or out of a workhouse.

Some of the items, it may be objected, are illegal, yet, as they are of frequent occurrence, they should be known and resisted; for they cannot be fully detected, if they are permitted to be placed in the account under the item "Expenses not included under the above heads." *

I would propose, that the method to be adopted to procure uniformity, might be applied to parochial accounts in the same manner as that which was pursued with parish registers. Books uniformly ruled, for making the various entries, might be supplied to each parish; and from these, copies might be made to Parliament without difficulty. Some weeks before the close of the parochial year, each parish should be supplied with a printed skeleton similar to that contained in the two last sheets of the accounts I have now the honour to submit to your Lordship,† to be filled up by the overseers, and by them attested in the presence of the magistrates in petty session held for the express purpose; and it appears reasonable,

* On perusing the report of the Committee of the House of Commons on the Poor Laws, in 1819, I find at the foot of page 4, a recommendation to establish "*a prescribed form for keeping parochial accounts, and giving to them periodical publicity; by which the amount of expenditure will be seen under its proper head, and any illegal or unnecessary disbursements will be brought to light and detected.*"

† See Appendix (C).

that a penalty should be required and enforced by the magistrates, if the overseers neglect to fulfil this last act of their duty, before they are absolved from the obligations of their office. By this method, Parliament would be furnished with correct returns, and at the earliest possible time.

Intending soon to solicit your Lordship's attention to another portion of this subject,

I remain, &c. &c.

LETTER II.

MY LORD,

To one of the principal items of parochial expenditure, *the disbursements incurred by the employment of able-bodied labourers*, I now beg your attention.

Frequently we hear of the *maladministration* of the Poor Laws; a charge which seems indefinite until the duties and responsibilities of the vestry meeting be satisfactorily ascertained. It is presumed, however, that the shaft is not seldom directed at the conduct of *the magistrate*; and perhaps even his duty is not very clearly defined. Sorry am I that I cannot fully agree in sentiment with the respected and benevolent Prelate, a member of the Lords' Committee, who, in a pamphlet, asserts that the 43rd of Queen Elizabeth "was enacted merely for the aged and infirm," and that "the aid granted by it should be given to them, and them alone." His Lordship is perfectly correct, it is true, as it regards *a portion* of that act of parliament, which required that the overseers should raise "competent sums of money for and towards the necessary relief of the lame, impotent, old, blind, and such other among them being poor *and not able to work*:" and if this were the whole of the enactment, the relief should be given to them, and to them alone. Since, however, we find that this portion of the section is connected with others, the overseers are equally empowered and required to raise other funds for other purposes: first, "for setting to work the children of all such whose parents shall not by the said churchwardens, overseers, or the

greater part of them, be thought able to keep and maintain their children:" and secondly, "for setting to work all such persons, married or unmarried, having no means to maintain them, as use no ordinary and daily trade of life to get their living by:" and the method to be pursued for raising those funds and for disbursing them is specified, "and also to raise weekly or otherwise (by taxation of every inhabitant, parson, vicar, and other, and of every occupier of land, houses, tithes impropriate, propriations of tithes, coal-mine, or saleable underwoods in the said parish, in such competent sum or sums of money as they shall think fit,) a convenient stock of flax, hemp, wool, thread, iron, and other necessary ware and stuff, to set the poor on work." Now, my Lord, as such work is not practicable in any point of view in the present day, and the kind of work has not been by statute altered to suit the change effected by the lapse of time, it must appear that the charge of *maladministration* is not applicable to the overseers of the poor for giving money when work cannot be found, nor to the magistrate for failing to notice, and for not obviating, the difficulty now experienced of incurring much expense by paying for the relief of the unemployed labourer in agriculture out of the parochial collection, when the farmer will not or cannot supply him with work and pay him for it, and work cannot be found elsewhere.

The principle of the existing law is most probably sound: that time has rendered the application of it impracticable is perspicuously true. Notwithstanding, much of the present evil is concealed, not in its amount but in the detail of it; and where the default of administering the law is rightly chargeable, is not the first matter to be detected, and perhaps under present circumstances not detectable. *It would seem* that the evil exists more palpably in some of the counties purely agricultural, than in those a portion of whose population is employed in manufacture, such as the counties of Bedford, Berks, Bucks, Cambridge, Essex, Hertford, Huntingdon, Kent, Norfolk, North-

ampton, Oxford, Southampton, Suffolk, Sussex, and Wilts : as if the non-employment of labourers in agriculture at sufficient wages were the chief source from whence it springs. But is any one capable of making this assertion absolutely, my Lord, without evidence? And is there any evidence while we are destitute of sufficient specification in the returns? And can such returns be procured where the system of keeping the accounts is defective, because not specific and minute? *The complaint lies probably against the law, with more reason than against those who are called upon to see it enforced.*

The attention a member of the Lords' Committee has given to the practicability of the present system of the Poor Laws demands the thanks of the nation. In the admirable charge which the Lord Suffield delivered at the Quarter Session for the county of Norfolk, in March 1830, his Lordship details the views he takes of the law as it then stood, and endeavours to show that it is adequate to the difficulties a parish may have to encounter in providing employment to the supernumerary population, adequate at least in the *principle*, if not in the *amount*, of its provision. To the 12th and 13th sections of the 59th of George the Third, cap. 12, his Lordship refers; the former as applicable to the idle, and the latter to the industrious: and concludes that the combination of the provision of these two sections "gives all we want," and is persuaded that, "where applied, we shall lose sight and feeling of the Poor's-rate;" and then, in support of his views, cites the case of "The King against Collett."

I owe his Lordship an apology for venturing to examine these sentiments, and for exhibiting the state in which a parish may be placed, for which, I would respectfully suggest, provision is not made by those two enactments.

The overseers of the poor of the parish of Kelsale, without providing employment for those labourers who could not procure it for themselves, had paid them certain weekly sums of money for their support and that of their families. I am not

aware that the act of Queen Elizabeth sets forth the necessity for a profitable return to the parish from the employment provided, but secures the opportunity by the taxation of the inhabitants for money, and by the purchase of articles, and enforces the employment by empowering “the Justices,” and requiring that they “shall send to the house of correction or common gaol, such as shall not employ themselves to work, being appointed thereto, as aforesaid.” But the overseers of Kelsale had neglected their duty in *not endeavouring to provide employment*, though it might have proved to be, in the event, unprofitable to the parish.

But if we suppose that the overseers of a parish had received an application for employment from any number of labourers belonging to the parish, unable to procure it for themselves, and that it was satisfactorily proved to such overseers, that there did not exist any demand for the labour they offered to the market, and could not be purchased at any price, however reduced; and if we continue to suppose that such labourers had respectfully applied to the magistrate, and had obtained an order upon the parish officers for employment, for, under the 43rd of Elizabeth, cap. 2, this is the precise object of the law with regard to persons so situated, would it be possible, after the overseers had by taxation raised money, and with that money had purchased and provided “a convenient stock of flax, hemp, wool, thread, iron, and other necessary ware and stuff,” to find employment for such labourers, “by setting the poor to work” on them? I conclude that the overseers could not provide them with employment at such work, and that this part of the enactment is obsolete.

The 12th section of the 59 Geo. 3. cap. 12, acknowledges this defect, and attempts to provide a remedy, which my Lord Suffield seems to consider specific for the *idle*, and the 13th section for the *industrious* labourer. Now it has always appeared to me, that the former of these sections is *an inadequate substitute* for the 43rd of Queen Elizabeth, cap. 2; and for

several years I have wished to see returns made to Parliament in reply to queries proposed to every parish, that Parliament might learn how far the two enactments had been adopted, and had been found upon experiment to be practicable, and to what extent remedial; for though I do not think either provision adequate, even if the number of acres were indefinitely multiplied, to find employment for the supernumerary labourers in agriculture, and to supply them with means of subsistence without other aids, yet I cannot but admire the principle of the two sections as far as they go. Let us, however, suppose that the former section provides employment, and we will say for the *idle*. Of course we presume that the wages will not be high, but only sufficient for their maintenance, or, as it is expressed in the section, “reasonable wages for their work.” Now, my Lord, I beg to inquire how such labourers are to be supported when the weather or the season precludes all attempt to employ them on the land? It has appeared to me that some wisdom is discoverable in the act of 43rd Queen Elizabeth, cap. 2, as it provided employment which might be conducted under covert in wet and severe weather, when the land will not receive the labour of the man who has “no ordinary and daily trade of life to get his living by.”

If we consider the case of a parish only partially oppressed with a superabundance of labour, for instance, in winter and not in summer, I respectfully consider the section inadequate. Should the lands occupied by the farmer consume all the labour in the market, during the seasons suited to cultivate the soil, yet, when the frost and snow and rain of winter compel the farmer to desist, he must pay the labourer though unemployed, for it is vain to say to him, ‘You must go and work upon the parish piece, and if you do not fulfil your day’s work there, you shall not be paid your wages!’ This section is consequently almost as impracticable as the obsolete scheme of providing flax, hemp, thread, and such like stuff. Still I presume it may be rendered available to employ *the old and infirm men* in a

parish, with considerable advantage in suitable weather, but *not as a remedy for the idleness of the profligate though able-bodied labourer.*

Should it, however, be objected, that the profits of the produce of the twenty acres will form a fund for paying those labourers who are employed on it, we must then include in such argument the fact that these men are employed at work upon the land in good weather as well as in bad, and indeed all the good weather of the year, and of course have no other means of employment all the year round. It becomes in this case a remedy, not for the idle, so much as for *the supernumerary labourer*, and has the effect of reducing the supply of the labour market to its proper level.

We may hope that the 13th section will be more beneficial; yet here too my fears prevail. If the *industrious* labourer be allowed a portion of the land to cultivate for himself, in connexion with this privilege, a question of the utmost difficulty arises: how is he to be provided with employment, in addition to his allotment of land? When he has cultivated the land and derived the advantage of a harvest, may not the farmer refuse him employment? If he apply to the magistrate he cannot obtain an order for relief until the produce of his harvest is expended, or the stock raised from the land is consumed; and if he may not have employment when his crop is exhausted, he must have relief, where there is not any workhouse to receive him. I cannot therefore think it to be correct, that the provision of these two sections gives all we want, and relieves the magistrate from the charge of maladministration, as he is, equally as before the passing of Mr. Sturges Bourne's Act, unable to meet the difficulty the 43rd of Elizabeth imposes upon him, of ordering employment in a manner now impracticable.*

* In the report of the Committee of the House of Commons for 1819, an attempt is made to escape from the necessity of finding employment, by representing it to be "*an erroneous construction of the act of Elizabeth,*"

In many parishes whose labouring population is occupied solely in agriculture, without any particular manufacture, the acreage is sufficient to require their employment all the year round; in others, where the agricultural labourers abound beyond the demand for their labour, the difficulty of providing for them is unquestionably very great. That the plan known by the name of *the labourers' rate*, might possibly be adopted with advantage in some instances, is very certain. And it is to be regretted that an act of Parliament has not passed, to continue in force only two or three years, to try the effect of it, provided a certain portion of the rate-payers, perhaps five-sixths, consented, and the magistrates approved of its terms and allowed the rate, in such parishes as would like to make the experiment, not as they are now obliged to attempt it, if they attempt it at all, too feebly to make it binding and compulsory, because it is *not sanctioned by law*.* That it would

(see page 5) that "parishes are supposed liable to be called upon to effect the impracticable purpose of finding *employment* for all who may at any time require it." And afterwards, at page 10, the same Committee "anxiously direct the future attention of the House to such measures as may be calculated ultimately to relieve parishes from the impracticable *obligation* of finding employment for all who may at any time require it at their hands:" thereby tacitly acknowledging the "*obligation*." And, indeed, they proceed to recommend a method of providing that employment, "by removing any restraint on the free circulation of labour, and giving every facility and encouragement to seek employment in any part of the King's dominions:" showing, I would submit, the want of confidence in the arguments used in support of the assertion, that it is "an erroneous construction."

* The act which has since passed (9th August 1832,) intituled, "An Act for the better Employment of Labourers in agricultural parishes until the 25th day of March 1834," contains a most unfortunate clause in the 6th section. The words are—"That this act shall not extend"—"to any parish, township, vill, or place, where the rates for the relief of the poor shall not exceed five shillings in the pound on the full or rack rental thereof," It seems to say that a poor-rate of 4s. 11d. is no evil; but an evil that requires legislation when it amounts to 5s. in the pound. And how it is to be adopted in a parish, if one farmer happens to have his land at a very low rent, and does pay 5s. in the pound, and another pays a high rent, and his levies do not reach 5s. in the pound, I do not understand. Who is to decide, whether under such circumstances the act does or does not apply? The difficulty

be more profitable to the farmer to pay the labourer for labour done on his farm, a little more than he pays him to be idle or to profess to work upon the roads, is no speculative notion: but it is hard that he who occupies his full quota of labourers, not so much according to the opportunity he has for employing them, as because he thinks it to be his duty, should be assessed for the support of those labourers for whom other persons ought with equal obligation to find work, and pay them for it out of their own pocket, and not from the rates.

Without the assistance of such labour-rate, the magistrate is frequently obliged to have recourse to measures which no statutes sanction, by fixing a uniform price of wages through the district, regulated according to the price of bread, and to the number of persons in the family. This *scale* is sometimes very deceptive, for it applies fixedly to every case, however equivocal. It is not very easy to discover what means of subsistence a family possess beyond the price of labour paid to the man, while the scale relates to the remuneration he alone obtains for his labour, where it is made to apply to all the labourers in the district. Too frequently perhaps the magistrates require that the labourer shall receive so much for his labour, and if he do not obtain it, they issue, not a written and specific, but a general and verbal order, that he shall receive the amount the scale regulates, either as the remuneration for labour performed, or as relief from the rate raised

always has been to make the labour-rate compulsory, but in the case I have alluded to, it is perfectly useless, through the intervention of this clause alone. Neither is it possible to ascertain what is the rack rental, where one-fourth of the land is in the occupation of the owners; nor does the act compel the rack-renter to acknowledge what is the amount of his rent. It is a pity that the act was not unshackled, as it is a mere experiment for a season and a half: I say a half, because it is well known in agricultural districts, that the difficulty of finding employment is *after* Lady-day, when, the threshing, draining, and other winter work being over, and the spring sowing principally ended, there is little work to be done until the hay-harvest commences; and that more is paid to labourers out of employment at that time than at any other period of the year.

for the relief of the poor, or mixtly from both, disregarding, unintentionally indeed, what amount the other members of the family earn. Perhaps the fund is then *misappropriated*.

It is possible that even the labour-rate would not entirely obviate this difficulty, though it would reduce its amount in every instance in which a labourer was employed by the farmer upon his land, and received from the farmer the whole of his wages for which he had agreed to work: provided it was done under the regulation of the labour-rate. The grand difficulty presents itself in the case of a number of labourers, for whom the farmers, after having taken all the men they can employ under a labour-rate, are not able to find any *productive employment for the remainder*: for the labour-rate presumes that there is not more disposable labour in the market than is sufficient to supply the demand, supposing the farmers are willing to employ it at a fair remuneration; and is to be adopted only where some farmers will not employ their quota of labourers according to their acreage and its state, whether of pasture or tillage, and the number of men in the labour market. How such labourers are to be provided for, after the land has received all who ought reasonably to be occupied on the soil, forms the principal and almost insurmountable obstacle against legislation. The law demands that the man be employed; the magistrates order the employment to be provided, and perhaps fix the remuneration he is to receive; the overseers cannot find the employment, the magistrates order relief; for it is most revolting to the charities of our nature, that a fellow creature should be suffered to starve, even though the law may not have made any absolute provision to prevent it. Here a demoralization of the worst kind ensues; the market being overstocked with labour beyond the demand, the price of labour necessarily diminishes, the rates are a burden felt most oppressively, and pauperism progresses, till the farmer and the labourer are both compelled to have recourse to the

advice or authority of the magistrate for the attainment of their respective rights.

In many districts, where there is not any parochial nor incorporated workhouse, the allowance of *head money* is made by the magistrates; and this too sometimes by a general and not a specific rule, and without regard to the necessities of the family, but only from the contingency of comprising so many children above two or three under ten years of age.

This and other modes of increasing the income of the poor, by factitious means, beyond the fair remuneration for their labour, or without the return of their labour, is only injurious, as it begets indolence, prevents forethought, and tends to reduce the spirit of independence into a habit of pauperism. Let the man have subsistence, but only by earning it, or he will become a burden upon the community. If the poor think the rich insufferable, because they consume and in their opinion do not produce, how much more are the poor so when they expect food for themselves without earning it, and that too at the expense of the rich. Surely the poor greatly mistake, when they imagine that the rich are independent of the poor. The frame of society is so constructed that each portion depends upon the other; and by a happy combination of interests, the whole machinery is kept in motion. The case is evident, if we suppose a poor man to be offered ten acres of land to cultivate for himself. He objects instantly, saying, ‘ I have no capital, and cannot cultivate it for want of such capital.’ But the mutuality of the advantage is apparent and certain, when the rich find the capital, and pay the poor for their labour, which again repays for the outlay, and is productive of benefit to both parties. Such advantage would, however, soon be lost, if the rich sacrificed their capital, unless the poor gained it, still retaining the casualness of rich and poor. To both parties it is best to remain as they are, the rich equally rich, without diminution of capital, and the poor as dependent

as ever upon the rich for employment. But if the rich are to pay the poor more than they ought to do, or for doing nothing, the consumption will continue; yet, because then neither would produce, both would be eventually involved in the same calamity. Let employment be found for the labourer at a fair remuneration, by which he will be rescued from the necessity of depending upon the poor-rate in any shape, and it will tend to his own advantage ultimately, as well as to that of his employer.

To this point it will be necessary for me on some future day to request your Lordship's attention.

I have the honour to be, &c.

LETTER III.

I COME now, my Lord, to a very important part of this interesting subject, and must beg to premise, that my intention is only to elicit truth and fact, not to gratify any controversial feeling, much less to indulge a wish to give offence to the individual who is chiefly connected with my remarks, the Rev. J. T. Becher; who is respected by none more than by myself, and from whom, during a correspondence on the subject of Friendly Societies, I received much polite attention. The good sense and candour of that gentleman already assure me of his forbearance while I attempt to examine some portions of his evidence, particularly as we are not consentaneous; and the errors I may commit, will, I hope, be pardoned, with his accustomed liberality.

The remedies for the evils connected with the Poor Laws in agricultural districts, Mr. Becher considers to be Workhouses and Friendly Societies; the former to be made repulsive, and the latter attractive to the poor: and, to give evidence, adduces the comparison he has instituted between Nottinghamshire and Sussex. To effect a nearer approach towards a relative equalization between the amounts of expenditure for the two counties, Mr. Becher proposes to raise the price of wages in the latter to the same level as those given in the former county. To this opinion I must confess myself by no means a convert; and fear that if it were practised, the result would be ruinous. Neither do I perceive that it would elevate

the labourer above the condition of a pauper, but fix him in it permanently; for I conceive, my Lord, that the poor man is equally pauperized if the usual price of wages given in a district be eight shillings, and the farmer give him twelve, as if he were to receive eight shillings from the pocket of the farmer, and four shillings from a fund raised by all the farmers collectively in the same parish; the labourer receives the same sum of four shillings more than his fellow-labourers obtain in the same district, let it be called by what name it may, or gathered from whatever source; and is a pensioner to that amount.*

In a county like Nottinghamshire the price of agricultural labour will always be high, because of the draught made upon the labourers' families for the supply of hands to work in the manufactories; and the farmer will not object to give high prices for labour, because the additional resources derived by the labourer's family from the manufacturer, help him to keep aloof from the workhouse, and the farmer has less poor-rate to pay. But surely there cannot be any necessity for stimulating the poor by a supply of wages more than requisite for their reasonable support, as this must prove to be more or less burdensome upon the farmer by an increase of his expenditure. Would it not be better, my Lord, to reduce the price paid for labour in Nottinghamshire as low as is reasonably consistent with the great advantage to be derived to labourers' families by a supply of work from the manufactories, and enable the labourer to obtain the remainder by some extra means, such as a portion of land, to be cultivated by himself, for his own profit? The farmer would have a fairer chance, and the landlord would be more secure of his rent, without reduction. We must not suppose that a different result would ensue from that which Mr. Becher aims to accomplish; for the extra profit would equally enable the labourer to maintain the payment of his

* The same argument is equally sound if we exchange the word district for county, and again, the word county for kingdom.

deposits as constantly to his friendly society, as if he procured the means to do so from extra pay for his labour.

Under such circumstances, however, as exist in Nottinghamshire, to confront that county with Sussex does not appear to me, I must acknowledge, quite just or fair; for though Mr. Becher asserts that he has taken *the agricultural population alone in both counties*, when making his calculations, yet, according to his own account, the relative position of the two counties with regard to *their population, and the earnings of that population*, is so opposite as almost to prevent the possibility of obtaining any correct inference by placing them in apposition, and by compelling them to participate in a consistency they do not physically possess.*

* Taking the agricultural families in Nottinghamshire at 13,664, and in Sussex at 21,920, as Mr. Becher represents, at pages 296 and 297 of the Evidence, and the families employed in trade in Nottinghamshire at 21,832, and in Sussex at 15,463, I would propose the following calculations.

If in Nottinghamshire 13,664 be equal to 21,920 in Sussex, what ought the number of families employed in trade to be in Sussex, supposing they are in Nottinghamshire 21,832?—and the quotient is 35,023; whereas there are in Sussex only 15,463 families employed in trade;

Or thus, 13,664 : 21,920 :: 21,832 : 35,023.

And if we give to every agricultural family wages at 10s. per week, and to every family employed in trade 20s. per week, the case will stand thus:

In Nottinghamshire :	£.	In Sussex :	£.
Agricultural, 13,664 at 10s.	6,832	Agricultural, 21,920 at 10s.	10,960
Trade . . . 21,832 at 20s.	21,832	Trade . . . 35,023 at 20s.	35,023
	<u>28,664</u>		<u>45,983</u>

£45,983 × 52 weeks, gives £2,391,116 for the year in Sussex;

£28,664 × 52 weeks, gives 1,490,528 for the year in Nottinghamshire;

forming a difference of £ 900,588, which Sussex ought to have earned if she is to be considered as being on an equality with Nottinghamshire.

But as Sussex had only 15,463 families employed in trade, the account is very different, for her 21,920 agricultural families earned, at 10s. each £10,960
and her 15,463 families in trade earned, at 20s. each, 15,463

making together £26,423; or, for the year, £26,423 × 52 weeks, = £1,373,996, which deducted from £1,490,528, the amount which Nottinghamshire earned for the year at the same ratio as

To institute any comparison may, at the first glance, seem to be unimportant; yet the result of the investigation will

is represented above, leaves the earnings of Sussex less than those of Nottinghamshire by £116,532; and this sum, added to £900,588, makes Sussex worse than Nottinghamshire by £1,017,120, because, when compared with Nottinghamshire, she has not had her complement of families occupied in trade, by 19,560.

If we reverse this calculation, and take the families employed in trade in Sussex at 15,463, and in Nottinghamshire at 21,832, what ought the agricultural families to be in Nottinghamshire, provided they are in Sussex 21,920?—and the quotient is 30,948, instead of 13,664;

Or thus, 15,463 : 21,832 :: 21,920 : 30,948.

The case will therefore now stand in this manner :

In Sussex :	£.	In Nottinghamshire :	£.
In Trade, at 20s. each . . .	15,463	In Trade at 20s. each . . .	21,832
Agricultural, 21,920 at 10s.	10,960	Agricultural, 30,948 at 10s.	15,474
	<u>26,423</u>		<u>37,306</u>

£37,306 × 52 weeks, gives £1,949,912 for the year in Nottinghamshire ;

£26,423 × 52 weeks, gives 1,373,996 for the year in Sussex ;

forming a difference of £ 575,916, which Nottinghamshire ought to have earned if she is to be compared with Sussex.

But as Nottinghamshire had only 13,664 families employed in agriculture, the account is very different, for her 13,664 agricultural families earned, at 10s. each £ 6,832

and her 21,832 families in trade earned, at 20s. each, 21,832

making together £28,664; or, for the

year £28,664 × 52 weeks = £1,490,528

from which . . 1,373,996 being deducted,

leaves . . £ 116,532, and shows that Nottinghamshire, to be equal with Sussex in her population, and in their earnings, ought to have received £116,532 + £575,916 = £692,448 more than she has done.

Once more: If the agricultural families in Sussex be 21,920, and in Nottinghamshire 13,664, what ought the families employed in trade to be in Nottinghamshire, provided they are in Sussex 15,463?—and the quotient is 9,630 instead of 21,832.

Or thus, 21,920 : 13,664 :: 15,463 : 9,630.

Then the state of the case will be,

In Sussex :	£.	In Nottinghamshire :	£.
21,920 Agricultural, at 10s.	10,960	13,664 Agricultural, at 10s.	6,832
15,463 in Trade . . at 20s.	15,463	9,630 in Trade . . at 20s.	9,630
	<u>26,423</u>		<u>16,462</u>

exhibit the difficulty of drawing the conclusion Mr. Becher has done, that Sussex only requires to give her agricultural labourers higher wages. Most cordially I agree with him in

$£26,423 \times 52$ weeks, gives $£1,373,996$ for the year in Sussex ;

$£16,462 \times 52$ weeks, gives $\overline{856,021}$ for the year in Nottinghamshire ;

making a difference of $£\ 517,975$, which Sussex would have gained more than Nottinghamshire, if Nottinghamshire had not had more families employed in trade than her proportion.

But as Nottinghamshire had 21,832 families employed in trade, the account is very different, for her 13,664 agricultural families earned, at 10s. $£6,832$

and her 21,832 families employed in trade earned $\overline{21,832}$

forming together . $\overline{£28,664}$; or, for the year, $£28,664 \times 52 = £1,490,528$

from which $\overline{856,021}$ being deducted,

leaves . . $\overline{£634,507}$, which, added to $£517,975$, exhibits Nottinghamshire in the receipt of $£1,152,482$ more than Sussex, as the earnings of her agricultural population, and evinces the impossibility of forming a correct opinion of the relative condition of the two counties, if, as Mr. Becher represents, we are to take *only their agricultural population*.

Let us, then, take the agricultural *labourers'* families alone in Nottinghamshire at 7,974, and in Sussex at 12,790, being, in both cases, 7-12ths of the families employed in agriculture, and the families employed in trade in Nottinghamshire at 21,832, and in Sussex at 15,463, and give to each agricultural labourer's family wages at 10s. per week, and to the families occupied in trade 20s. each per week, the account will stand thus :

In Nottinghamshire :	£.	In Sussex :	£.
Agricultural, 7,974 at 10s.	3,987	Agricultural, 12,790 at 10s.	6,395
In Trade . . 21,832 at 20s.	$\overline{21,832}$	In Trade . . 15,463 at 20s.	$\overline{15,463}$
	25,819		$\overline{21,858}$
Deduct . . .	$\overline{21,858}$		

and there are . $£\ 3,961$ gained per week in Nottinghamshire more than in Sussex, which, multiplied by 52, amounts to $£205,972$ in the year.

This calculation, however, is made on the supposition that the agricultural *labourers'* families in Sussex receive the same wages as similar families do in Nottinghamshire. If the 12,790 agricultural *labourers'* families residing in Sussex were resident in Nottinghamshire, and gained, each family, 2s. 6d. per week more than the 10s., for the year it would amount to $£83,122$; and if they gained 5s. per week more than the 10s., the amount would be $£166,244$. But, let us say that only those agricultural *labourers'* families

wishing to see Sussex and the counties purely agricultural in a more prosperous condition, and able to deposit in a friendly society as the index of their prosperity; I cannot desire, however, to have it effected by the same means.

To a question whether an addition to the price of labour in Sussex will effect it? I presume to reply, that it certainly will not, to the degree which Mr. Becher anticipates. For if the 12,790 agricultural labourers' families who reside in Sussex should receive each 5*s.* per week additional wages during the whole year, the total amount would be £166,244; and if this sum were applied as an offset against £235,745, the amount expended upon her paupers, making a balance of £69,501, Sussex would descend, it is true, to an equality with Nottinghamshire in the amount paid out of the levies raised for the relief of her poor, being for the same year, £69,137: but her poor would not be depositors in a savings bank, nor in

which do *actually* reside in Nottinghamshire are thus advantaged, then it will appear that 7,974 families at 2*s.* 6*d.* per week, is £ 51,818

at 5*s.* per week, is 103,636

at 7*s.* 6*d.* per week, is 155,454

at 10*s.* per week, is 207,272

And Mr. Becher says, that many *labourers'* families in Nottinghamshire do earn 20*s.* per week, and in some cases more. Yet, should the statement be calculated within what I presume every one must allow to be reasonable limits, we shall find the inference very different from that drawn by Mr. Becher.

If to the amount of £205,972, received for labour more in Nottinghamshire than in Sussex, as shown on the other side, which, after all, must be far below the fact, since the mechanics receive very much more than 20*s.* per week for each family, and the labourers' families much more than 10*s.* per week; yet, if to the above amount we add only the 2*s.* 6*d.* per week each for the 7,974 agricultural *labourers'* families, we have $£205,972 + £51,818 = £257,790$. Taking then the poor-rate in Sussex, for the year ending March, 1829, at £235,745, and in Nottinghamshire at £69,137, there is a difference against Sussex of £166,608; which, deducted from £257,790, leaves £91,182 received for the maintenance of the poor in Nottinghamshire more than in Sussex. And if we take the difference in the price of agricultural labour alone to be 5*s.* instead of 2*s.* 6*d.*, it leaves a balance of advantage in favour of Nottinghamshire over Sussex of £143,000 annually.

a friendly society, which *seems* to be the criterion of prosperity at present distinguishing the manufacturing from the agricultural, or, more correctly, the northern from the southern counties. Yet, my Lord, I would maintain that the amount of the difference of 5s. per week in the price of wages between Sussex and Nottinghamshire, would *not* balance the difference of the amount of the poor-rate if that difference of wages were actually paid to each agricultural labourer's family, unless it can be proved that such families are now *in the constant habit* of receiving from the collections made for the relief of the poor an amount equal to such difference of wages, and are *the only persons who receive relief*.

That the amount of the difference of wages given in the two counties, if paid by Sussex to her labourers, will effect the removal of her calamity, is the sentiment of Mr. Becher, is fairly conclusible from that gentleman's observations at page 307 of the Evidence. "I could pauperize Southwell in a very short time, by pursuing the course adopted in some districts. We have 217 able-bodied labourers in Southwell; now, supposing we were to reduce their weekly wages from 12s., the average rate which they now receive, to 8s. a week, or from 13s. to 9s. a week, and we were to take 4s. a week from the wages of each man, that being £10. 8s. a year, we should pay £2,256. 16s. additional poor-rates; then we should cry out that we were aggrieved with poor-rates. I contend that such outpayments are not poor-rates according to the legitimate interpretation of the act of the 43rd of Elizabeth. We should defraud the labourer of his hire, and impose a tax upon the wages of the industrious labourer or the unmarried man, for the support of the idle man or of the man that is oppressed with a family."

Now I do not understand why it may not be proved that the £2,256. 16s. paid by Southwell is so much poor-rate really and truly paid by the farmers to their labourers under the name of wages. For if the magistrates did not induce the

farmers to give an average of 12s. per week wages, would the farmers spontaneously give so much? And is there not at Southwell, most probably, some interference with the price of wages by the magistrates, so that the farmers know they must give so much? and that the labourers know they must receive so much? and that if there be any attempt on the part of the farmers to bargain for less, the labourers will not take less, because the magistrates are supposed at least to sanction it? Then it is little short of a compulsory act, and whether it be called wages, or be called 8s. wages and 4s. head-money, or allowance, or gratuity, or by any other name, yet such becomes the fact, that it is nothing else than palpable poor-rate.

For the sake of raising an argument, I will concede to the opinion of Mr. Becher, that if the farmers in the agricultural districts would pay their labourers 12s. per week each on an average, the whole year round, they would reduce the rates, depauperize the poor, and increase the number of depositors in friendly societies, only presuming that the farmers could afford, out of their profits, without infringing upon their capital, to pay the additional 4s. per week, with the further privilege of an occasional portion of piece-work, and extra pay in harvest; yet the question arises, *Would it be wise to adopt such plan?* But the consideration of this question I shall for the present defer.

Believe me to remain, &c.

LETTER IV.

MY LORD,

BEFORE I proceed to reply to the query, ‘ Would it be wise for Sussex and similarly burdened counties to adopt Mr. Becher’s recommendation, to give the labourers in agriculture an average price of 12*s.* per week each?’ I may be excused, I trust, for suspecting whether in point of fact Sussex has advanced in regular progression in the habit of pauperizing her poor *at a faster pace* than Nottinghamshire; and I would respectfully submit to your Lordship, that *she has not*; but that, of the two counties, *Nottinghamshire* is after all the more culpable.

Taking the average of the three years 1748, 1749, and 1750, we find that Nottinghamshire paid to her paupers 4,375*l.*, and Sussex to hers, 24,343*l.*, and that in the year 1829, Nottinghamshire’s poor-rates were 69,137*l.* Now, according to the same proportion, let us calculate what Sussex ought to pay in 1829, and the quotient is 384,686*l.*, whereas Sussex paid in 1829 only 235,745*l.*, making a difference of 148,941*l.*

And if we reverse the statement, and inquire, if Sussex paid 24,343*l.*, and Nottinghamshire only 4,375*l.*, what ought Nottinghamshire to pay in 1829 when Sussex paid 235,745*l.*?—and the result of the calculation is 42,368*l.*; yet we find that Nottinghamshire paid in the same year 69,137*l.*, or 26,769*l.* more than she ought to have done, had she accelerated at only the same ratio as Sussex.

Again, if we take the whole of the sums paid annually in both counties under the character of poor-rate, from 1813 to 1829 inclusive, we find that Nottinghamshire paid 1,338,912*l.*, and Sussex 4,454,549*l.* If then Nottinghamshire paid in 1813 88,013*l.*, and Sussex 314,270*l.*, what ought Sussex to pay, supposing Nottinghamshire to have paid 1,338,912*l.*? and the result is, 4,785,428*l.*; but as Sussex paid only 4,454,549*l.*, she has not paid so much by 330,879*l.* in the seventeen years as she would have done provided she had kept pace with Nottinghamshire in pauperization. Or in other words, pauperism has accumulated in Nottinghamshire faster than in Sussex by more than one-thirteenth, or by nearly 20,000*l.* per annum for the last seventeen years.

Permit me to draw your Lordship's attention to another view of the subject. In 1748, 1749, and 1750, the average expenditure for Nottinghamshire was 4,375*l.*, and for Sussex 24,343*l.* If the 4,375*l.* had increased so much, that from 1813 to 1829 it had swelled to 1,338,912*l.*, what should Sussex have paid during the same seventeen years, according to the same proportion? Then we have the case thus—

$$£4,375 : £1,338,912 :: £24,343 : £7,449,859.$$

Had Sussex, therefore, kept up to the heels of Nottinghamshire, considering the relative situation of the two counties eighty years ago, she would have paid in the seventeen years 2,995,310*l.* more than she has been called upon to pay.

It is curious to examine the two counties, with respect to their poor-rates. There were paid—

	In Nottinghamshire.	In Sussex.	Proportionate difference.
In 1748 to 50	£ 4,375 . .	£ 24,343 . .	5.57
In 1776 the sums were . .	11,914 . .	54,734 . .	4.59
In 1783, 1784, and 1785 . .	18,068 . .	72,878 . .	4.03
In 1803	44,223 . .	179,858 . .	4.00
In 1813	88,013 . .	314,270 . .	3.56
In 1829	69,137 . .	235,745 . .	3.40
From 1813 to 1829 inclusive	1,338,912 . .	4,454,549 . .	3.33

By this calculation, it is conspicuous that Sussex while running side by side with Nottinghamshire for eighty years, has been making a regular decrease in the amount of the cost of the poor, when compared with Nottinghamshire. It would almost seem as if there were a strife between the two counties, which should be most successful in attempting to prevent the increase of the burden occasioned by the poor-rates: and as Sussex appears still to have the 'vantage of Nottinghamshire, we may conclude that Sussex has fixed a drag to her wheel, while Nottinghamshire is running unchecked in her progress, and may yet arrive at the bottom of the hill before her competitor for ruin.*

It may be well, my Lord, to inquire how *some other of the oppressed counties* stand relatively with the two which exhibit so much prominence in this comparison.

The Poor-rate in 1748 compared with 1829 and the proportionate difference.

In Essex	£38,233 . . .	£262,215 . . .	6.86
In Bucks	17,139 . . .	124,499 . . .	7.26
In Oxford	12,831 . . .	123,399 . . .	8.66
In Beds	8,276 . . .	77,554 . . .	9.37
In Sussex	24,343 . . .	235,745 . . .	9.68
In Notts	4,375 . . .	69,137 . . .	15.80
In England and Wales .	689,971 . . .	6,332,411 . . .	9.17

* Certainly, if we take the last seven years up to March 1829, there has been some degree of improvement. The totals for Nottinghamshire have been £449,164, and for Sussex £1,639,106, bearing the proportion of 3.64, but by no means of so great extent as to exhibit Nottinghamshire in a situation of such very considerable amelioration, as to render the expedient proposed by Mr. Becher to increase the price of wages in Sussex to the same level as they give in Nottinghamshire, at all advisable.

But as there seems to be some improvement for the last seven years, it may be well to investigate it carefully. During the last seven years previous to March 1829, the poor-rates in Nottinghamshire were £449,164, and in Sussex £1,639,106. Then we have the following facts:

£449,164 divided by seven, gives an annual average of £64,166: and

£1,639,106 divided by seven, gives an annual average of £234,158.

The sum actually expended in Nottinghamshire, for the year ending

That Sussex has increased but in a trifling ratio beyond the average progression for the whole of England and Wales, appears certain by this representation, while Nottinghamshire has advanced very considerably, the difference between the two counties being as 9 to 15.

Has then the *population* augmented in Nottinghamshire more rapidly than in Sussex, by which some cause may be assigned for this increased ratio of poor-rates in that county? No! this is not the obvious cause, for in 1801 in Nottinghamshire the population was 140,350, and in 1831, 225,400; and in 1801 in Sussex the population was 159,311, and in 1831, 272,300. The proportions are, for Nottinghamshire an increase of 60 per cent., but for Sussex 70 per cent. for the thirty years.

A comparative view of the two counties, in connexion with their *acreage*, will, perhaps, be more favourable to Mr. Becher's opinion, that Nottinghamshire is worthy of being imitated by Sussex. The subject is of so much interest to the country at large, that I hope your Lordship will pardon me for obtruding it upon your notice, and for endeavouring to exhibit it by various calculations, for though I believe my conclusions are correct, I shall be very chagrined to occupy so much of your valuable time to examine my sentiments, if you can discover, Sir, that I am a mere speculator. I do not pretend to an acquaintance with the subject of so long standing as Mr. Becher's, yet, finding much dissatisfaction from a perusal of his calculations, and having given my opinion, upon oath, before the Lords' Committee, I think myself bound to detail at length the ground for the sentiments I then expressed, and which subsequent events have strongly confirmed.

March 1829, was £69,137, being £4,971 for that year above the average of the last seven years, or $.009 = 2\frac{1}{4}d.$ per acre.

The sum Sussex really disbursed for the year ending March 1829 was £235,745, being £1,587 only for that year above the average of the last seven years, or $.001 =$ one farthing and two-thirds of a farthing per acre.

Taking then the *acres* in Nottinghamshire to be 535,680, and in Sussex 936,320, the following comparisons may be instituted, at different periods.

		Total Rate.		Rate per Acre.				
		£.				£.	s.	d.
1748 to 1750	Nottinghamshire . .	4,375	. .	.008	=	0	0	2
	Sussex	24,343	. .	.026	=	0	0	6½
1776	Nottinghamshire . .	11,914	. .	.022	=	0	0	5½
	Sussex	54,734	. .	.058	=	0	1	2
1783 to 1785	Nottinghamshire . .	18,068	. .	.033	=	0	0	8
	Sussex	72,878	. .	.077	=	0	1	6½
1803	Nottinghamshire . .	44,223	. .	.082	=	0	1	7¾
	Sussex	179,858	. .	.192	=	0	3	10
1813	Nottinghamshire . .	88,013	. .	.164	=	0	3	3½
	Sussex	314,270	. .	.335	=	0	6	8½
1829	Nottinghamshire . .	69,137	. .	.129	=	0	2	7
	Sussex	235,745	. .	.251	=	0	5	0¼
1813 to 1829	Nottinghamshire . .	1,338,912	. .	2.494	=	2	9	10½
	Sussex	4,454,549	. .	4.754	=	4	15	1
1823 to 1829	Nottinghamshire . .	449,164	. .	.837	=	0	16	9
	Sussex	1,639,106	. .	1.728	=	1	14	6¾

The worst year in each county :

1817	Nottinghamshire . .	108,362	. .	.202	=	0	4	0½
1818	Sussex	331,070	. .	.353	=	0	7	0¾

By examining the above calculations, we discover that Nottinghamshire has advanced faster than Sussex in her parochial expenditure for the last eighty years; for in 1748 Sussex paid more than thrice as much as Nottinghamshire, and in 1829 not quite double; for the seventeen years previous to 1829 not quite double, and for the seven years previous to 1829 only a little more than double.

Will your Lordship permit me to request your attention to another view of the subject? It regards the division of the total amount of poor-rate by the number of the population, as Mr. Becher has done at pages 296 and 297 of the Evidence, and is stated in the same manner.

Nottinghamshire :

£44,233, being the total expenditure of poor in 1803, by Parliamentary report, divided by 140,350, total population in 1801, gives per head for each person contained in the population315 or £0 6 3 $\frac{3}{4}$

Sussex :

£178,858, being the total expenditure of poor in 1803, by Parliamentary report, divided by 159,311, total population in 1801, gives per head for each person contained in the population1.122 or £1 2 5 $\frac{1}{4}$

Again,—Nottinghamshire :

£87,574, total expenditure of poor in 1821, divided by 186,873, total population in 1821, gives per head469 or £0 9 4 $\frac{1}{2}$

Sussex :

£276,469, total expenditure of poor in 1821, divided by 233,019, total population in 1821, gives per head1.146 or £1 2 11

So that Nottinghamshire had increased from 6s. 3 $\frac{3}{4}$ d. to 9s. 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ d., or 3s. 0 $\frac{3}{4}$ d. per head, while Sussex had increased her payments from 22s. 5 $\frac{1}{4}$ d. to 22s. 11d., or only 5 $\frac{3}{4}$ d. per head; but if Sussex had advanced equally with Nottinghamshire, she would have had to pay 1l. 13s. 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ d., or an addition of 10s. 10 $\frac{1}{4}$ d.

Once more,—Nottinghamshire :

£69,137, total expenditure of poor in 1829, divided by 225,400, total population in 1831, gives per head307 or £0 6 1 $\frac{3}{4}$

Sussex :

£235,745, total expenditure of poor in 1829, divided by 272,300, total population in 1831, gives per head866 or £0 17 3 $\frac{3}{4}$

Nottinghamshire, therefore, has diminished since 1803 from 6s. 3 $\frac{3}{4}$ d. to 6s. 1 $\frac{3}{4}$ d., or 2d. per head; while Sussex has reduced her expenses from 22s. 5 $\frac{1}{4}$ d. to 17s. 3 $\frac{1}{4}$ d., or 5s. 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. per head.*

* For a comparative view of all the counties of England, see Appendix (D).

Should we endeavour to place the two counties in a comparison at all approaching a correct estimate of their relative position, it appears we must represent what they both have paid, first for labour, then in rates. Nottinghamshire having 7,974 agricultural labourers' families, to whom we presume she has paid 12*s.* per week in wages, or 246,768*l.* for the year, and having paid 69,137*l.* poor-rate, presenting a total of 315,905*l.*, has incurred an expense of 39*l.* 12*s.* 4*d.* for each family. In Sussex the agricultural labourers' families are 12,790, which at 8*s.* a week will amount in the year to 266,032*l.*, and added to 235,745*l.* poor-rate, exhibits a total of 501,717*l.*, or 39*l.* 4*s.* 6*d.* per family. Nottinghamshire has, therefore, paid 7*s.* 10*d.* per annum to each agricultural labourer's family, or in the whole 3,123*l.* for the year, more than Sussex has to hers, supposing the average amount of wages for the two counties to be 12*s.* and 8*s.*

It does then but little signify by what name it is called, for Nottinghamshire is actually more burdened with the expense of providing for her agricultural labouring poor than Sussex, even excluding the advantages she possesses over Sussex from having a large addition to their maintenance by occasional supplies of work from her manufactures. Will it not then be reasonable to recommend to Nottinghamshire to imitate the practice of Sussex, until she has reduced her proportion to the same state as it was in 1748? And then, but not till then, will she be in a position to suggest or recommend to Sussex what policy she ought to pursue for her own domestic government. For what would have been the state of Nottinghamshire, we may justly inquire, in the amount of her poor-rates in proportion to other counties, if she had not given this exuberant portion of wages? If, as Mr. Becher argues, Nottinghamshire had paid only 8*s.* wages, she would have been obliged to pay the other four shillings as poor-rate, then we may add the 4*s.* per week given to each agricultural labourer's family,

amounting for the year to 82,256*l.*, to 69,137*l.* the amount paid in 1829, forming a total of 151,393*l.*; and being as 36 to 1, compared with what the poor cost her in 1748, or four times what Sussex and all England and Wales paid at the same periods.

I cannot, therefore, think that Sussex is equally skilful with Nottinghamshire in the art of pauperization: and concluding your Lordship will coincide with me,

I have the honour to be, &c.

P.S. Before, however, I dismiss this part of the subject, I request to be permitted to refer to a matter of fact. In the abstract appended to the report of Lord John Russell's Committee in 1824, it will be seen what was the amount of wages for the two counties at that period. I have placed the two counties together.* It is evident that the price of wages in Nottinghamshire was 10*s.* per week as a general price, and in Sussex about 9*s.* Now we shall conclude that if Nottinghamshire has raised her price of wages to 12*s.*, she has diminished her poor-rates proportionably, if Mr. Becher's principle be correct; but the fact is, that the poor-rates for Nottinghamshire for the year ending March 1824 were 58,894*l.*, and for the year ending March 1829, 69,137*l.* This may be counted accidental. What then is the case with Sussex? Her expenditure in 1824 was 241,073*l.*, and in 1829, 235,745*l.* So that one county has augmented her poor-rates with an increase of wages, and the other has produced an opposite effect, by reversing her conduct; still taking it for granted that the prices were 12*s.* and 8*s.*

* See Appendix (E).

LETTER V.

MY LORD,

IN immediate connexion with this part of the subject, an inquiry may arise with regard to the proportion of *other northern counties*, Nottinghamshire alone having been hitherto adduced to illustrate the condition of Sussex. I have, therefore, selected *Lancashire*. The following tabular view will exhibit the two counties in the same light as I have already attempted with Sussex and Nottinghamshire.

There were paid,	Nottinghamshire.	Lancashire.	Proportionate difference.
In 1748 to 1750, an average of .	£ 4,375 . .	£ 21,236 . .	4.85
In 1776	11,914 . .	52,373 . .	4.45
In 1783 to 1785, an average of .	18,068 . .	73,364 . .	4.05
In 1803	44,223 . .	148,282 . .	3.35
In 1813	88,013 . .	306,797 . .	3.64
In 1829	69,137 . .	260,891 . .	3.78
From 1813 to 1829	1,338,912 . .	4,665,106 . .	3.49

If then in 1748 Nottinghamshire expended 4,375*l.* and Lancashire 21,236*l.*, what ought Lancashire to have disbursed in the seventeen years from 1813 to 1829, provided Nottinghamshire's poor cost her 1,338,912*l.*?

The following are the proportions:—

£4,375 : £21,236 :: £1,338,912 : £6,499,002; but as Lancashire incurred an expense of only 4,665,106*l.*, she had not accelerated so fast, as if she had kept pace with Nottinghamshire, by 1,833,996*l.*

It would, however, be more correct to compare Sussex with Lancashire.

There were paid,	Lancashire.	Sussex.	Proportions.	
			More.	Less.
In 1748 to 1750 . . .	£ 21,236 . .	£ 24,343 .	£ 3,107	
In 1776	52,373 . .	54,734 .	2,361	
In 1783, 1784, and 1785	73,364 . .	72,878		£ 486
In 1803	148,282 . .	179,858 .	31,586	
In 1813	306,797 . .	314,270 .	7,473	
In 1829	260,891 . .	235,745		25,146
From 1813 to 1829 . .	4,665,106 . .	4,454,549		210,557

If then in 1748 Sussex paid 24,343*l.* and Lancashire only 21,236*l.*, what ought Lancashire to have paid from 1813 to 1829, as Sussex paid 4,454,549*l.*? The quotient is 3,885,995*l.*; but as Lancashire paid 4,665,106*l.*, she had increased 779,111*l.* more than she would have done, had she not accelerated faster than Sussex. Should we reverse the statement, and inquire, if in 1748 Lancashire paid 21,236*l.* and Sussex 24,343*l.*, what ought Sussex to pay from 1813 to 1829, if Lancashire paid 4,665,106*l.*? The result is 5,347,649*l.*; but as Sussex paid only 4,454,549*l.*, she has saved more than Lancashire by 893,100*l.* in seventeen years.

Again: if we take another guilty county, for instance, the county of *Bedford*, and compare her with her northern sisters, Nottinghamshire and Lancashire, we shall see what justice there is in the accusation brought against her.

There were paid,	Nottinghamsh.	Bedfordsh.	Lancash.	Hertfordsh.
In 1748 to 1750 . .	£ 4,375 .	£ 8,276 .	£ 21,236 .	£ 16,452
In 1776	11,914 .	16,663 .	52,373 .	25,486
In 1783 to 1785 . .	18,068 .	20,977 .	73,364 .	32,779
In 1803	44,223 .	36,895 .	148,282 .	56,381
In 1813	88,013 .	61,273 .	306,797 .	76,701
In 1829	69,137 .	77,554 .	260,891 .	91,796
From 1813 to 1829 .	1,338,912 .	1,156,998 .	4,665,106 .	1,522,753

Supposing Nottinghamshire to have paid 4,375*l.* and Bedfordshire 8,276*l.*, what ought Bedfordshire to have expended

from 1813 to 1829, seeing Nottinghamshire paid 1,338,912*l.*? The quotient is 2,532,762*l.*, or more than Bedfordshire did pay by 1,375,764*l.*, as her expenditure was 1,156,998*l.* If Bedfordshire paid 8,276*l.* in 1748, and Lancashire 21,236*l.*, what ought Lancashire to have disbursed from 1813 to 1829, since Bedfordshire paid 1,156,998*l.*? The calculation exhibits a quotient amounting to 2,968,343*l.* So that Lancashire has disbursed more than she ought to have done by 1,696,763*l.*, remembering her position in relation to Bedfordshire eighty years back.

I have added the county of Herts, in which your Lordship feels much interested, and which holds rather a peculiar position with relation to Nottinghamshire. The agricultural families in Hertfordshire are 13,485, and in Notts 13,664, and the agricultural labourers' families 7,866 and 7,974. Yet, notwithstanding this similarity, it is observable that the amount of poor-rates paid by Hertfordshire, for the average of the three years 1748, 1749, and 1750, was very nearly four times more than it was at the same period in Nottinghamshire. With an equal agricultural population, we may presume that Hertfordshire still pays nearly four times what Nottinghamshire disburses.

If then Nottinghamshire paid 4,375*l.* and Hertfordshire 16,452*l.*, and for seventeen years Nottinghamshire's poor cost 1,338,912*l.*, what ought Hertfordshire to have paid? The reply is 5,062,333*l.*; but from this sum, when we deduct 1,522,753*l.* the amount Hertfordshire did pay, we have left the enormous balance of 3,539,580*l.* And if we reverse it thus:—

£16,452 : £4,375 :: £1,522,753 : £404,938, instead of 1,338,912*l.*; so that if Nottinghamshire had retained her position in relation to Hertfordshire, she would have had to expend only 404,938*l.*, whereas the fact is, she paid 1,338,912*l.*

To keep the poor-rates so low as has been done in Hertfordshire, if we consult the plan pursued in Nottinghamshire of giving an average of 12*s.* weekly wages, and that this prac-

tice is the cause why her poor-rates are so low, it is but fair to conclude that in Hertfordshire 24s. at least have been given as wages to the labourers in agriculture. The fact, however, is, as your Lordship very well knows, that the evidence of that much respected clergyman, the Rev. F. J. Faithful, was correct, when he stated before the Committee that the wages given to labourers who work in the parish of Hatfield, range from 9s. to 12s. per week.*

Fearing I may be too prolix, it is with reluctance I find I cannot quite dismiss this subject, for I perceive that another gentleman, who gave evidence before the Lords' Committee, has been, I apprehend, deceived by the appearances of the case without investigating the facts of it. Permit me then to solicit your Lordship to peruse the calculation made by Mr. Slaney, at the foot of page 195 and at the head of page 196 of the Evidence, where he compares eight counties conducted on what *he terms* a good system, with eight on what he calls a bad system. It is as follows:—

“ Comparison of eight counties on good system and eight on bad.

“ North Counties . . .	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{York, E. R.} \\ \text{. . . . N. R.} \\ \text{. . . . W. R.} \\ \text{Lincoln,} \\ \text{Westmoreland,} \\ \text{Cumberland,} \\ \text{Northumberland,} \\ \text{Durham,} \end{array} \right.$	Population, 2,070,366.
		Poor-rate, 754,500 <i>l</i> .
“ Eight S. Counties . .	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Kent,} \\ \text{Sussex,} \\ \text{Surrey,} \\ \text{Oxford,} \\ \text{Wilts,} \\ \text{Berks,} \\ \text{Norfolk,} \\ \text{Dorset,} \end{array} \right.$	Population, 2,037,665.
		Poor-rate, 1,511,699 <i>l</i> . Double, with same population.

* And is there not another fact evident in this case, which I shall have hereafter occasion to notice, that the higher wages are raised, the larger in proportion will be the amount of the collections for the poor? which is the reverse of Mr. Becher's conclusion.

“Proportion of cost of poor per head in population, taking year 1825, and population return of 1821,

for 12 southern counties, with scale and bad system . 16s. 6d. per head.
 12 northern, and good system 6s. 6d. per head.”

Now, my Lord, Mr. Slaney does not state why he has not taken the counties he had enumerated, nor what counties he has included in his calculation. It is, therefore, for me to take the counties Mr. Slaney has named, together with their population and poor-rate.

The poor-rate of 754,490*l.* for the northern counties bears a proportion to their population of 2,070,366, of 7*s.* 3½*d.* per head.

The poor-rate of 1,511,699*l.* bears a proportion to the population of 2,037,665 for the southern counties, of 14*s.* 10*d.* per head. But this is not so great a disproportion as 6*s.* 6*d.* is to 16*s.* 6*d.*

If we take *the same population* of 1821 in the eight northern counties, and inquire what proportion the rates for those counties bore eighty years ago, the result is 7*d.* per head, and for the eight southern counties 1*s.* 10*d.* per head; or, in other words, the eight northern counties have augmented their rates at a ratio of twelve and a half, and the eight southern counties at a ratio of only eight: for 7*d.* $\times 12\frac{1}{2}$ is = 7*s.* 3½*d.*, and 1*s.* 10*d.* $\times 8$ is = 14*s.* 8*d.*

It may be well to place the calculation in the same order Mr. Becher has done, only at different periods.

The eight northern counties :

£517,957, total expenditure for poor in 1803, divided by 1,520,266, total population in 1801, gives per head340 = 6*s.* 9½*d.*

The eight southern counties :

£1,054,065, total expenditure for poor in 1803, divided by 1,528,610, total population in 1801, gives per head689 = 13*s.* 9½*d.*

Again,—The eight northern counties :

£834,882, total expenditure for poor in 1829, divided by 2,357,800, total population in 1831, gives per head354 = 7*s.* 1*d.*

The eight southern counties :

£1,580,546, total expenditure of poor in 1829, divided by 2,323,300, total population in 1831, gives per head680 = 13*s.* 7¼*d.*

It is, therefore, conspicuous that the *bad* system in the southern counties has diminished the expenditure at the rate of $2\frac{1}{4}d.$ per head since 1803, and the northern counties under a *good* system have increased their disbursements $3\frac{1}{2}d.$ per head, or, in other terms, the northern counties have paid more than their own relative increase of population by 34,384*l.* in 1829; and the eight southern counties have not paid so much as their own relative increase by 21,781*l.*

A comparison of the rates, with the *acreage* which is a fixed, rather than with the population, which is a fluctuating criterion, will however afford a more correct view of the subject.

The acreage of the eight northern counties I take to be 8,884,480
and of the eight southern counties 6,234,880

The poor-rate for the eight northern counties 80 years back was . £59,890
and for the eight southern counties at the same time . 187,408

The northern counties were therefore rated .006 or $1\frac{1}{2}d.$ per acre.
and the southern counties030 or $7\frac{1}{2}d.$ per acre.

The poor-rate for the eight northern counties in March, 1826, was £754,490
and for the eight southern counties at the same time 1,511,699

The northern counties were therefore rated . .084 or 1*s.* $8\frac{1}{2}d.$ per acre.
and the southern counties242 or 4*s.* 10*d.* per acre.

From which we are compelled to draw the following inferences; that, the eight northern counties have increased 14 times, as 1*s.* $8\frac{1}{2}d.$ is 14 times $1\frac{1}{2}d.$; and the eight southern counties have increased only 8 times, as 4*s.* 10*d.* is scarcely 8 times $7\frac{1}{2}d.$, and that, the terms *bad* and *good* system, must be respectively misapplied by Mr. Slaney, until the exact position of the counties of England, with respect to the poor-rates, can be ascertained previously to the year 1750, as since that time the southern counties have not offended equally with the northern, and that other remedies must be applied to the southern dis-

tricts, than those proposed from the north for imitation in the south.

And I suppose that it is not an accidental conclusion in the mind of Mr. Slaney, for at page 192, in speaking of the southern counties, he says, “where alone the evil is great,” and at page 199, Mr. Slaney asserts that “in the southern counties the rates have been most increased, and that in the manufacturing districts there is little increase of rate.” A tabular form will exhibit the facts of the case; by which it will appear that the increase in the northern counties has been almost double of that in the southern counties; namely, as 14 to 8.*

* The eight northern counties in 1748 and in 1829, with their difference.

York, E.	£ 4,110 . .	£ 98,011 . .	23.60
Do. N.	5,581 . .	80,322 . .	14.39
Do. W.	20,218 . .	263,362 . .	13.02
Lincoln	14,790 . .	171,565 . .	11.60
Westmorland	1,802 . .	24,793 . .	13.75
Cumberland	2,450 . .	43,784 . .	17.87
Northumberland . . .	3,796 . .	72,275 . .	19.04
Durham	7,143 . .	80,770 . .	11.30
Divided by 8 /			<u>114.57</u>
gives an average of . .			<u>14.32</u>

The eight southern counties in 1748 and in 1829, with their difference.

Kent	£ 41,997 . .	£ 340,525 . .	8.10
Sussex	24,343 . .	235,745 . .	9.68
Surrey	26,598 . .	243,452 . .	9.15
Oxford	12,831 . .	123,399 . .	9.61
Wilts	22,938 . .	173,480 . .	7.56
Berks	15,971 . .	105,624 . .	6.62
Norfolk	30,464 . .	275,859 . .	9.05
Dorset	12,266 . .	82,462 . .	6.72
Divided by 8 /			<u>66.49</u>
gives an average of . .			<u>8.31</u>

The amount of difference may be seen by a comparison of the expenditure of the counties at a more recent period.*

The assertion of Mr. Slaney is, therefore, correct, that the increase in the northern counties is very little: but he is very far from being equally correct, when he says that the increase has been *most* in the south, for the southern counties have *diminished* the actual amount of their expenditure since 1813 to the extent of 208,608*l.*, and if we omit the *West Riding* of Yorkshire, the eight northern counties will have increased their expenses by 66,668*l.* instead of 1,917*l.*

But in this part of the subject it is possible I may have mistaken the exact meaning of Mr. Slaney, for he says, “in the *manufacturing* districts there is little increase of rate.”

* The eight northern counties in 1813				and in 1829.			
York, E.	. . . . .	£ 83,752	. . . . .	£ 98,011			
Do. N.	. . . . .	70,861	. . . . .	80,322			
Do. W.	. . . . .	328,113	. . . . .	263,362			
Lincoln	. . . . .	129,343	. . . . .	171,565			
Westmorland	. . . . .	22,338	. . . . .	24,793			
Cumberland	. . . . .	44,985	. . . . .	43,784			
Northumberland	. . . . .	72,821	. . . . .	72,275			
Durham	. . . . .	81,752	. . . . .	80,770			
		<hr/>		<hr/>			
		£832,965		£834,882			
				Deduct .	832,965		
				<hr/>			
				Increase	£ 1,917		

The eight southern counties in 1813				and in 1829.			
Kent	. . . . .	£ 317,990	. . . . .	£ 340,525			
Sussex	. . . . .	314,270	. . . . .	235,745			
Surrey	. . . . .	217,757	. . . . .	243,452			
Oxford	. . . . .	143,108	. . . . .	123,399			
Wilts	. . . . .	234,352	. . . . .	173,480			
Berks	. . . . .	160,872	. . . . .	105,624			
Norfolk	. . . . .	291,501	. . . . .	275,859			
Dorset	. . . . .	109,304	. . . . .	82,462			
		<hr/>		<hr/>			
		£1,789,154		£1,580,546			
		Deduct .	1,580,546				
		<hr/>					
		Decrease	£ 208,608				

Yet this I presume is not correct, as will be seen by an investigation of eight counties whose population are more particularly occupied in manufacture; for instance—

	In 1813	and in 1829.
Chester	£ 114,370	£ 98,106
Derby	93,963	74,800
Lancaster	306,797	260,891
Leicester	110,560	106,862
Nottingham	88,013	69,137
Stafford	124,765	119,978
Warwick	157,932	141,579
York, West Riding	328,113	263,362
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	£1,324,513	£1,134,715
Deduct	1,134,715	
	<hr/>	
Decrease	£ 189,798	

Here we discover that the *manufacturing* districts have *reduced* at rather a higher ratio than the southern counties, being about one-fifth more in proportion to the amount of expenditure respectively; and this too while their population has augmented more rapidly, for these manufacturing counties have added, between 1801 and 1831, seventy-six per cent. to their population, while the eight counties mentioned under the denomination *southern*, have multiplied only fifty-two per cent. during the same period. It is, however, more consistent to our purpose to notice the eight northern counties which Mr. Slaney has enumerated, and these have increased their population only fifty-five per cent.

I would, therefore, respectfully represent to your Lordship, that I think the southern counties are not deserving of the degree of delinquency which is generally attributed to them; but rather that they are retrograding from that ruin, towards which other counties are advancing while adopting a different system; regarding them according to their rates alone, exclusive of the adventitious circumstance of higher wages for labour, and employment in the factories.

I have the honour to be, &c. &c.

LETTER VI.

MY LORD,

HAVING by various calculations exhibited the relative position of some of the counties of England, the inquiry whether it will be judicious to give generally in the south an average of 12*s.* per week for labour, may be made now with, I hope, more satisfaction.

Your Lordship will, I am persuaded, pardon me for directing your attention to a society calling itself “The Labourers’ Friend Society.” The professed and avowed object of that institution is to encourage the letting of land to the agricultural labourer at a moderate rent, to be cultivated by himself for his own advantage, and if possible in quantity not larger than will be sufficient to employ his extra hours. An object more commendable, or more strictly consistent with my own views, cannot be found. But how is it to be accomplished? The land may be let, and this is easy; yet who can secure to him regular employment at adequate wages? With that benevolent nobleman, the Earl of Shrewsbury, I heartily accord, when his Lordship states in his valuable pamphlet, at page 8, “Small plots of land are unquestionably of great advantage to the poor cottager in every point of view; but *without adequate employment elsewhere*, they become a mere palliative to his distresses:” and again at page 18, “Here is the great difficulty, and here always *must be* the great difficulty, *to afford*

employment to the supernumerary hands at adequate wages, without absolute ruin to the owners and occupiers of the soil."

Let us, for one moment, suppose a labourer in an agricultural district has been favoured with an allotment of half an acre of land at a moderate rent, that he has cultivated it with his own hands and has received the produce. Will that produce be sufficient to support him during the winter, especially if he have a family, without the price of his own labour, which he is able to bring to the labour market? And can the Labourer's Friend Society discover and supply him with employment, and pay him his price for it? To provide for the *extra* hours of the labourer is no herculean task; and if that society would discourage the letting of land to the poor cottager, until some method could be devised for obtaining work for him during the twelve hours of the day all the year round, with a fair return for it, the profitable employment of his extra hours might be easily accomplished. But to encourage the allotment system prior to the assurance of employment, must have the effect of making the labourer eventually work extra hours for only the same wages as he used to receive for working the usual hours of labour; by which only his employer will be benefited, and not himself.

This is, I think, very evident, when we examine his case closely. If he is in receipt of more than labour pay, it will soon be discovered by his employer, who may then say, "You are better off, I shall not give you so much wages as I did;" of course, my Lord, concluding that the market for labour is open: and when thus rejected, should he apply to the magistrate, must the magistrate include the advantage derived from the garden-plot, or omit it, in calculating the amount of his income? If the magistrate include the advantages gained from the labour during the extra hours, the poor man is not benefited by it, but the occupier is the gainer; and if the magistrate omit it,

the farmer may say, "I will not find the man any employment." He is then immediately pauperized by working on the roads at reduced wages, or by receiving parochial relief without being employed. And I am not aware that any society can effect an alteration in this case, except by procuring some legislative enactment; a consummation most devoutly to be wished, provided it can be done without any injustice to the owner or occupier of the land.

Let us presume, my Lord, that such society were disposed to promote the increase of wages in agricultural counties to the same average as Mr. Becher states the labourers receive in Nottinghamshire, of 12s. per week, and still patronized the letting of land to them; a question of a very serious nature will instantly present itself. Will the society encourage *the single man* by giving him 12s. per week? If the reply be a negative, the society would be abetting improvident marriages: equally promotive of early matrimony will the society be, if it refuse to let the young man have an allotment of land because he is single. Of necessity then the young man is thrown early into the labour-market at the full price of wages, in addition to those already in it; and if they overstock it, and the demand for labour be reduced in proportion to the supply, so must the price be reduced; and as the population increases, an event which cannot be obviated as they will not be so willing to emigrate, the consequence must be that the labourer will have little more to subsist upon than his allotment of land; and since this cannot be sufficient to support him, the rates will be swelled to a devouring amount.

Should, however, no such ruinous consequences occur, but the price of wages be raised, and employment be found at such advanced wages, the payment of them must certainly be made by the occupier of the soil, whose profits will be diminished by the increase; or if they are not diminished, the produce of the soil must be enhanced in value to meet such augmentation

of wages. The general expenses of subsistence would be enlarged, and doubtless a larger circulation of capital would ensue. But would not the price of labour amongst the artisans, and mechanics, and tradesmen advance too? and would not such advance demand an increase of their means? would not the whole of our manufacturing population require larger pay, and could our manufacturers compete then so well with foreigners? Might not the whole of our domestic system receive an impetus which, on a reaction, a reaction not unlikely to ensue, might quite overwhelm us either by the injury done to commerce, or by an enormous augmentation of parochial collections, or by both? Is it then wise, my Lord, to form all England, or at least all her southern counties, into a hot-bed to force the growth of wages?

“I conceive,” said Mr. Becher before their Lordships’ Committee, (at page 333 of the Evidence,) “that the wages of a labourer should be sufficient to support him not only in health, but in sickness, and old age.” To what extent he should be remunerated is not the question, for he is not so protected by law as to be able to make any such stipulation. If any real and permanent provision is to be made when young and healthy against the calamity of sickness or old age, new enactments, or a consolidation of those now in existence, must be effected by the legislature; and I cannot persuade myself that either house of parliament will sanction the fixing of an average price of wages either at 12s. or at any other price, to accomplish that object, however important.

I think, Sir, Mr. Becher might with equal propriety have added, that the average price of wheat in Sussex at her various market-towns, should be so much per quarter, because so much is given in Nottinghamshire. But if this be unreasonable, because there ought to be a competition in the wheat-market, so ought there to be in both counties a competition in the labour-market, with equal reason. And I presume that it would be equally unwise to recommend an assimilation

in the price of labour, as in the price of grain through the country.*

The farmer would, I imagine, find great cause to complain of aggrivance, if the price of wages should be raised by compulsion before the price of grain has risen sufficiently high to enable him to give higher wages. He finds himself, upon examination of his circumstances, peculiarly situated. His tithes are most probably fixed in amount if he have any to pay; his rent is fixed, his domestic expenses are fixed, or nearly so. His capital has a demand for interest at a fixed amount. Must he not, therefore, calculate what number of labourers he can afford to employ, and at what wages? He has but little opportunity to make one good year pay for a few bad ones, for the check put upon the price of grain by the graduated scale of the corn law keeps it at nearly a fixed rate, even though the crop be injured at in-gathering, or be too scanty in quantity to be considered an average crop. In which then of his expenses can he make any curtailment to meet the advance in the price of wages? Let him bring forward more capital, might be the reply. But to this I would object, that it is most unwise to wish him to employ more capital: the smaller it is in amount the better, not for himself only, but for the community. If he can procure an equal profit from a reduced, as he used to do from an increased capital, it is a public benefit; for we well know that a small capital, if adequate to the concern, always pays a higher per-centage than a large one. The smaller his

* The price of wheat varies considerably in the two counties, as the returns for the four last years exhibit.

	Sussex.				Nottinghamshire.				
For 1828	.	.	.	59s. 4d.	.	.	.	65s. 11d.	Imperial Bushel.
1829	.	.	.	71 2	.	.	.	69 5	
1830	.	.	.	64 5	.	.	.	68 5	
1831	.	.	.	68 9	.	.	.	70 7	
Average	.	.		65 11	Average		68 7		Making a difference in

favour of Nottinghamshire of 2s. 8d. per quarter; but as the grain is generally heavier than it is in Sussex, the state of the counties is very similar.

expenses, and the smaller his capital, but the larger his profits, the more valuable a member of society must he become: and we are almost forbidden, in common justice to all classes of the community, to attempt to raise the price of wages beyond the just and equitable value of labour in an open and competitory market.*

In the evidence, which I had the honour to give before the Lords' Committee, I stated that the price of labour is too high already in proportion to the price of produce; and I do not perceive from the evidence of Mr. Becher, that I ought to retract this opinion. At page 331 of the Evidence, Mr. Becher comes to the conclusion, "that the labourer in the present times may support himself and his family with decency and *comfort*, if he be not pauperized by an artificial and illegal system:" and he illustrates it by a comparison of the number of pints of wheat which wages would purchase at different periods. If we take the average price of wages at 11s. per week from 1825 to 1829, supposing the average price of wheat was 62s. 1d. per quarter, we find the labourer could procure 93 pints of wheat by the Winchester measure. Yet in the period from 1800 to 1810, taking the average price of wheat at 86s. 8d. per quarter, the same amount of wages would provide him with only 60 pints of wheat: from which it is just to conclude that he was then in receipt of too little, or is now ob-

* It is for similar reasons that the notion of dividing large farms into smaller must be objected to. There are many advocates for such a system, who have not taken a comprehensive view of the subject. When we recollect that more farm-houses and buildings would be required, with the loss of interest, and the expenses of repair; that more families must be maintained from the same produce; more horses employed upon the same surface, &c., we perceive that very considerable additions would be made to the charges attendant upon raising the produce of the soil. Neither should we forget that there is more trouble with five small tenants than with one larger capitalist, and more risk; while there is less probability of good culture, and the landlord has a less respectable tenantry. The proprietor is not the only party benefited by large farms, but the public too.

taining too much. But if with decency and comfort he may support himself as Mr. Becher asserts, I do not perceive it to be an act of justice to the farmer, or to the community, to supply the labourer with the means of being more than decent and comfortable, *as long as he is dependent for that supply*. It is, however, capable of proof, that at 8s. per week the labourer is in better circumstances than he was from 1800 to 1808, even though in the weekly receipt of 11s. per week for his labour at that period. Mr. Becher is, I feel persuaded, warranted, from the facts of the case, in asserting that “the poor have more ability now than they had at any former times.” How then, in the face of his own assertion, Mr. Becher can recommend an increase of wages is to me incomprehensible, only as it might have been proposed as the exception to this rule, and then even with the extremest caution and prudence, and in proportions varying according to local circumstances.

Neither must we forget, my Lord, that a still further effect will be produced against the agricultural interests of the country, if the intentions of the Labourers’ Friend Society can be accomplished, by turning the poor, who are customers for the produce of the farmer, into growers of what they consume, first, from the garden, secondly, from the sty; and if, besides this advantage, the poor are to receive higher wages, I do not understand how agriculture can sustain the *increased* expense with a *flatter* market.

Besides, it appears to me that the very act would be suicidal of its own intentions; for if we take the case of the northern counties, it will appear that the amount of their poor-rate has accumulated faster than in the south, even though in the north they had given higher wages. And this is only to be expected; for if the wages are to be raised, we may presume it is because produce is more valuable, and that, consequently, the same amount of wages will not go so far; and this same cause ought to affect, and will affect, the allowance given to paupers; because, if it be just to the labourer to give him more, it is unjust to

withhold from the pauper a proportional addition to the scanty means of his bare subsistence. I presume it would be impossible to prevent an increase of poor-rate in the southern counties, if they were to augment the price of wages; because *a principle of equity* ought to predominate among all the parties dependent upon the produce of the soil, not even excluding the pauper, who still has the opportunity of appealing to the magistrates for the application of that principle of equity to himself. And I fully believe that in general, indeed almost universally, the principle is acknowledged and adopted by that highly honourable and valuable class of society, who are influenced by motives of benevolence too sincere to permit themselves to refuse the application of the pauper for his *fair supply* of the common necessities of life: yet are checked in their liberality towards him by the counteraction of the same principle of equity towards the persons from whose pockets the collections they order, are made for the relief of the poor. The remedy will, I therefore apprehend, increase the evil.

Without such addition, it is not easy for us to imagine how they can subsist. Let us suppose that the labourer, who receives an average of 8*s.* per week for his support, cannot provide for himself and family without receiving 12*s.* on an average per week, because the price of grain has advanced. What is to be done with the case of the poor widow, who used to have, at the same supposed equitable rate, 2*s.* per week? I cannot comprehend why she is not to receive one-third more, and to be raised to 3*s.* per week. Does not a rise in wages seem, my Lord, to involve the equitable necessity for a rise in allowance to the poor?

When we look at the case, where necessity demands an increase of the means of support to the labourer, we find by experience it is equally necessary to rise in the scale of allowance to paupers. In the year 1817, ending March 1818, we were subjected to a bad harvest, and the price of labour rose, but not in proportion to the price of wheat, and the labourers

suffered severely. The expense of providing for paupers was, however, vastly augmented, and the country never paid so much poor-rate as during that year.

Still, my Lord, there is a kind of obliquity of vision in us, I fear, while looking at this point of our difficulties, when we suppose that higher wages are to be the remedy for the poor-rates; for I presume that higher wages will be a remedy for—and here I pause—for what? not for the aged and impotent, blind and sick. It may effect a reduction in *the allowance for children; but it cannot find employment for the able-bodied labourer who over-supplies the market.* It may benefit the labourer by a larger supply for his daily maintenance, but *will not, as a certain and inevitable consequence, secure anything for sickness, calamity, or old age.*

I am, &c.

LETTER VII.

MY LORD,

IN connexion with the view Mr. Becher takes of the effect to be produced upon the poor-rates in Sussex, by giving higher wages, I must not omit to notice the principle broached by Mr. Senior, and adopted by Mr. Becher, because on this principle his calculations respecting the relative position of the counties of Nottingham and Sussex are based; and likewise, because the satisfaction I derive from its application is but very small. It is to the following effect:—"That the rate of wages depends upon the extent of the fund for the maintenance of labourers, compared with the number of labourers to be maintained."

It will suit our purpose sufficiently, if we do not question the soundness of this principle, but only investigate the effect of its application to the case of the two counties, according to Mr. Becher's plan at pages 296 and 297 of the Evidence.

He there calculates what is the number of acres for each agricultural labourer's family, taking only the cultivated acreage, and assigns to each family in Nottinghamshire 57 acres, and to each in Sussex 62; which I presume is scarcely to be counted fair, for to each family in Nottinghamshire there are only 4.8 persons, but in Sussex 5.3, making a difference of half a person in each family. I have, therefore, multiplied the agricultural labourers' families in Nottinghamshire by 4.8, and then divided them by 5, and the quotient is 7,655: and in

Sussex by 5.3, and then divided them by 5, to equalize the families in both counties, and the number is 13,565. The acreage for each family will then be for Nottinghamshire 60, and for Sussex 59.

To ascertain the amount of the fund for each family, we may inquire what was the amount of the property tax in 1815 for the whole county; and, dividing it by the cultivated acres, it gives for Nottinghamshire 1*l.* 12*s.* 1¼*d.* per acre, or 96*l.* 6*s.* for the 60 acres; and for Sussex 1*l.* 2*s.* 9½*d.*, or 67*l.* 5*s.* 2½*d.* for the 59 acres.

But as the property-tax may be objected to as a criterion, though at page 300 of the Evidence Mr. Becher refers to it himself, calling it the rental; I will take the rental of 1811 by parliamentary return, and, having divided it by the cultivated acres, it gives for each in Nottinghamshire 1*l.* 3*s.* 3½*d.*, or for the sixty acres 69*l.* 18*s.*: and for each in Sussex 13*s.* 8½*d.*, or for the 59 acres 40*l.* 8*s.* 3½*d.*

Now, my Lord, I would submit, that land whose rental is 23*s.* per acre is, generally speaking, more able to receive labour to the extent of 20*s.* per acre, than land whose rental is only 13*s.* 8*d.* per acre. But if not, let us examine what should be the amount of the expenditure for labour in connexion with the amount of the rent, and I will venture to state that it ought to be much the same as the rent. Wherefore the fund for labour in Sussex is only 40*l.* 8*s.* 3½*d.* for each agricultural labourer's family, consisting of man, wife, and three children, and not 62*l.* as Mr. Becher's suppositary case represents. And if we presume that 8*s.* per week are received for labour by such family, we have to deduct from the 40*l.* 8*s.* 3½*d.*

the sum of 20*l.* 16*s.* for the

8*s.* per week for the year, leaving 19*l.* 12*s.* 3½*d.*; out of which are to come all extras for the more expensive works of harvesting, threshing, draining, ditching, thatching, &c.; and from which it would be impossible to give the increase of wages which Mr. Becher recommends of 4*s.* per week, which

is 10*l.* 8*s.* for the year, leaving for such extra work only 9*l.* 4*s.* 3¹*d.* per annum.

This calculation is made on the supposition that rents are the same now as they were during the war in 1811; and it is also leaving out of the question altogether the fact that there are many thousands of acres in Sussex which are not worth 10*s.* per acre, and could not provide a remuneration for labour to half that value.

When, however, we look at the case of Nottinghamshire, we find that after we have deducted 12*s.* per week, or 31*l.* 4*s.* from the amount of 69*l.* 18*s.*, we have 38*l.* 14*s.* for all extra work. The farmer in Nottinghamshire can, therefore, afford to give the 12*s.*, much better than in Sussex the farmer can spare 8*s.*; but it does not supply the reason, and much less the proof, why the farmers in Sussex should give the additional 4*s.* per week regularly and incessantly, to make the average wages 12*s.*

I perceive at page 314 of the Evidence, that Mr. Becher does indeed mistake the amount of real property assessed for the property-tax in 1815 for the rental of the land, which is calculated to make a very erroneous impression. If we look at the amount for Middlesex, we find that the real property assessed produced 5,595,537*l.*, and that the cultivated acres were 154,698, which gives 36*l.* per acre. The fact is, that the rental of land in Middlesex was only 349,142*l.*; and for the whole of England 27,890,358*l.*, according to the property-tax returns of 1811; and not, nearly fifty millions, as Mr. Becher represents, though he acknowledges his perplexity, and takes the amount of the rental at 40,000,000*l.* This sum is, however, more than the fact by about one-third. At the foot of page 314, Mr. Becher again calls the rental of Hertfordshire 571,107*l.*, which was the amount of the tax on real property assessed in 1815: the rental of the land was in 1811 only 342,350*l.* I apprehend, therefore, that the fund for the maintenance of the labourers must be calculated by a much

lower scale, and must confess that your Lordship's request to have the labour estimated at 5s. per acre was most judicious, as approaching much nearer the fact, than either the twenty or fifteen, or even ten shillings per acre, as Mr. Becher had suggested.

Your Lordship will observe the importance of this argument, when I state that the property-tax assessment of 1815 would give to the whole acreage of England, whether cultivated or not, 1*l.* 10*s.* 9*d.* per acre: while the rental of England for her cultivated acreage alone, was in 1811 exactly 1*l.* per acre; and for her total acreage 17*s.* 3*d.* per acre only.

I fear I shall weary your Lordship with these details, or I might pursue them further; and I might add that I do not think Mr. Senior's principle, that "the price of wages depends upon the extent of the fund for the maintenance of labourers, compared with the number of labourers to be maintained," is in all points correct, nor so sound that it can be universally adopted; and am disposed to conclude with Sir John Sinclair, in his excellent Code of Agriculture, "That it is a general principle, that the rate of labour must, *in a great measure*, depend upon the price of grain." The worthy baronet adds, "In the wages of labour, as well as in everything else, moderation is desirable. It is remarked that high wages have a tendency to throw labourers out of employment, as farmers in general, and even small proprietors, are unable to give such wages; hence they are obliged to carry on their work with fewer hands, or to postpone improvements, which otherwise they would have undertaken. Nor is that all; the labourers themselves suffer by it, and so does the public."

I have not the slightest regard for Sussex in particular, nor the smallest interest in the county, and have made these numerous, and I fear to your Lordship tedious, calculations, only for the sake of endeavouring to discover the facts of the case, and with the wish, if possible, to submit a remedy for the whole of our counties, and indeed in no small degree as a duty

I owed to the Committee, of illustrating the sentiments I had expressed.*

The disparagement of the county of Sussex in her mode of conducting the expenditure of the assessments made for the relief of the poor, is, I fear, not to be justified; and though attempted by Mr. Becher, there cannot be an individual in the kingdom who can with any semblance of veracity charge that honourable gentleman with any wish to depart from what he considers to be strictly truth and fact. Indeed, I have been so convinced of his integrity, and so impressed with the evidence of his talents, and so surprised at the extent of his researches, as well as filled with admiration at his benevolence, an atmosphere he perpetually inhales, and out of which he cannot exist; that were it not for the sake of a subject so comprehensive in its present mischief, and so universal in the benefit it will confer, if a remedy for that mischief can be found, that I would

* It may be pleasant to indulge the hope that the county of Sussex may learn to employ those means more extensively than she has hitherto done, which would increase the fund for the support of her agricultural labourers. If one difficulty be the quality of the soil, the application of chemical tests, as recommended by Sir Humphry Davy, in his 'Elements of Agricultural Chemistry,' to ascertain the quality of the component parts of the soil, would exhibit the kind of manure required to render it fertile. The improved method of convertible husbandry would, by rotation of different crops, produce more profits to the cultivator, and employ more hands. The introduction of new grasses, under the system developed by Mr. Sinclair, in his valuable treatise entitled 'Hortus Gramineus Woburniensis,' would completely alter the appearance of the country. And if, in addition to these means, or preparatory to them, more Acts of inclosure were to be procured, much more labour would be required, and the fund for the maintenance of labourers largely augmented. For it appears that though Acts of inclosure may have deprived the labourer of his right of common, it has extensively increased the demand for employment, and so much more abundantly enabled the farmer to receive it with advantage, that the poor are better off with that increase of demand, than if they had little labour provided for them, and were left to the precarious subsistence of their own additional means from the common. But if such inclosures had not taken place, the rapid increase of the population, and the recourse to our own resources, which the last war compelled, would have exhausted the country, and made our present condition infinitely worse than it now is.

prefer to leave that subject involved in all its present intricacy and nebulosity, rather than be supposed to entertain an uncharitable thought towards that excellent person.

Before, however, I conclude, I would refer to a fact in immediate conjunction with this subject. It is the difference in the amount of the expenditure in the counties of Nottingham and Sussex, for each pauper relieved. In the large volume of returns for 1815, the sum for Nottinghamshire is 6*l.* 11*s.* 8½*d.*, and for Sussex 10*l.* 9*s.* 5½*d.* The reason of this difference might help to solve the difficulty which hangs over the inquiries, respecting the cause why Sussex is so much burdened; but as other counties present even a greater contrast in the amount of their expenses, and as that volume is not universally accessible, I will subjoin the whole of the counties of England.

Expenses incurred for each pauper relieved in 1814.

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
Beds	8	0	0	Monmouth	6	16	5½
Berks	6	16	6	Norfolk	7	2	10
Buckingham	8	0	0	Northampton	8	6	0
Cambridge	6	16	6½	Northumberland	5	9	6
Chester	5	13	0	Nottingham	6	11	8½
Cornwall	7	0	3	Oxford	8	3	9
Cumberland	6	9	9	Rutland	11	0	0
Derby	5	13	10	Salop	5	2	0
Devon	6	1	8½	Somerset	5	18	11
Dorset	5	18	5	Southampton	8	6	4
Durham	6	0	0	Stafford	4	19	5
Essex	7	17	9	Suffolk	6	15	0
Gloucester	5	15	3	Surrey	9	7	7½
Hereford	7	6	8½	Sussex	10	9	5½
Hertford	7	5	0	Warwick	6	14	0
Huntingdon	6	6	8	Westmorland	6	5	10
Kent	7	9	10½	Wilts	6	7	7½
Lancaster	5	13	2	Worcester	7	4	1
Leicester	6	15	8	York, E.	7	6	10
Lincoln	8	7	4¾	Do. N.	6	13	2
Middlesex	4	9	5	Do. W.	6	12	3
				All England	6	11	7¼

Believe me to remain, &c.

LETTER VIII.

MY LORD,

THE statements I have hitherto made, and the arguments by which they have been supported, and which have received so much patient attention from your Lordship, afford us, on a *review*, only a conviction of the existing evils, and the obstacles they present against the application of remedies. The strictest regard to the mode of arranging and keeping parochial accounts, and the procurement of correct returns, will only exhibit the variety of forms the evil assumes. The vestry meeting, when efficient, may do much towards the regulation of the grosser enormities of the present system, particularly by the recommendation of distributive justice. The magistrate can effect but little while the act of Elizabeth is unrepealed, and no better system is adopted than the provisions of the Select Vestry Act. The scale, though, perhaps unjustly, reprobated, must be continued; the unemployed labourer must receive parochial relief; head-money must be paid for extra children, where there is not any workhouse. The leading proposition of Mr. Becher, of giving higher wages, so unfortunately echoed from north to south, having too, I am sorry to apprehend, helped to augment the discontent of the labouring classes, is founded upon an estimate of the present relation of counties, so unsound as to prevent its adoption. Under such perplexity we may look round and inquire what other plans are proposed for adoption.

to arrest the progress of pauperism, and to relieve the country of the pressure the poor-rates occasion.

There is one scheme which promises to be very remedial, I mean the letting of land to the cottager for his own cultivation and advantage, and to this I now solicit attention, particularly as it is supported by a case referred to by the Lord Suffield, at page 75 of his Lordship's charge to the Grand Jury of Norfolk, already alluded to.

I had not intended to notice this case, but it has been quoted at page 242 of the "Facts and Illustrations," published by the "Labourers' Friend Society;" and as the inference drawn from the premises does not appear to me correct, I have decided upon placing it before your Lordship. It was made originally by the late excellent Sir Thomas Bernard, that zealous friend of every benevolent project for "bettering the condition and increasing the comforts of the poor," and is intended to exhibit a contrast between four parishes in Rutlandshire and four in Sussex; and certainly at the first glance it is very imposing, while endeavouring to produce evidence of the vast advantage of letting land over every other method of attempting to promote the welfare of the labourer, and would, if it could be proved sufficient to effect its object, prevent the necessity for commissioners, or for the reduction of the labour market, or the introduction of a labour-rate, or the interference with the price of wages, or the finding of employment: but I cannot satisfy myself that the argument is perfectly sound.

As your Lordship may not have the noble Baron's charge to the Grand Jury at Norfolk at hand, I will copy a portion of the statement made by Sir Thomas Bernard.

"Long experience has convinced the inhabitants of Burley-on-the-Hill, Hambleton, Eggleton, and Greetham, that the only means of keeping a labourer with a large family off the parish books, is to let him land enough to keep a cow or two. This expedient has been repeatedly tried, and uniformly found successful.

“ The influence of the system on the rates of these parishes will appear in a very clear light from the following account :

Rutlandshire	Money expended in the support of the poor in				Amount of rental assessed to property tax in 1815.	Amount of poor-rate per £. rent in 1815.	
	1776.	1783.	1803.	1815.			
	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	s.	d.
Hambleton	51	44	143	132	4,760	0	6
Egleton	24	29	70	104	1,893	1	1
Greetham	61	54	160	219	2,993	1	9
Burley-on-the-Hill .	11	13	67	51	4,822	0	3
Total of the 4 parishes	147	140	440	506	14,468	0	9

“ In Burley the allotment system has been acted on for centuries, and continues to the present hour in all its purity ; and the result is that in a parish containing very nearly four thousand acres of land, fifty-one pounds per annum, or about threepence per acre is found an adequate provision for all its destitute poor. The highest rate (Greetham) does not amount to more than one shilling and ninepence ; nor does the average on the whole four parishes exceed ninepence in the pound rent.

“ By way of contrast, we shall place before our readers the state of four parishes, where the labourers are permitted to occupy no land ; where the wife and children of the working peasant have no employment ; and where the allowance system appears to advance with rapid strides towards its consummation.

Sussex.	Money expended in the support of the poor in				Amount of rental assessed to property tax in 1815.	Amount of poor-rate per £. rent in 1815.	
	1776.	1783.	1803.	1815.			
	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	s.	d.
Burwash	470	596	1,520	3,391	5,513	12	0
Mayfield	518	937	2,387	3,689	8,939	8	0
Shipley	443	544	2,267	2,200	4,020	11	0
West Grinstead . .	417	564	1,639	2,112	4,228	10	0
Total	1,848	2,641	7,813	11,392	22,700	10	3

“ In these parishes, selected at random from a great number of others similarly circumstanced in Sussex, it appears that the poor-rate averaged more than half the rent in 1815: since that period the ratio has become still more unfavourable to the land-owner: the rates have been gradually advancing, whilst the amount of rent has, in the same proportion, been falling off. It is, we apprehend, impossible to place in a clearer light the immense superiority of the croft and cow system of Rutland and Lincolnshire, over the allowance and workhouse system of the southern and eastern counties.”

This is Sir Thomas Bernard's view of the case. Now, we will submit the statement to a two-fold test; first, to a comparison of the rates, and secondly, of the population. We will inquire respecting the *rates*—

1st. What was the amount paid by each parish, and by the whole county in 1776?

2ndly. What was the average paid by each parish, and by the whole county from 1825 to 1829?

3rdly. What was the difference of each, and what the average of the whole, as compared with the whole county?

Rutlandshire,	In 1776.	In 1825 to 29.	Difference.	
Hambleton	£ 51 . .	£ 230 . .	4.51	} 22.03 divided by 4 gives 5.50
Egleton	24 . .	113 . .	4.70	
Greetham	61 . .	222 . .	3.64	
Burley	11 . .	101 . .	9.18	
All Rutlandshire . .	2,664 . .	8,919 . .	3.34	
Sussex,	In 1776.	In 1825 to 29.	Difference.	
Burwash	470 . .	2,662 . .	5.66	} 22.37 divided by 4 gives 5.59
Mayfield	518 . .	3,377 . .	6.52	
Shipley	443 . .	2,480 . .	5.60	
West Grinstead . . .	417 . .	1,916 . .	4.59	
All Sussex	54,734 . .	236,241 . .	4.30	

The four Sussex parishes have not therefore increased faster than the four Rutland parishes, taking them collectively, being 5.50 and 5.59; but the Rutland parishes have increased beyond the average of their county, more than the Sussex parishes have beyond theirs, being as 5.50 is to 3.34 for Rutlandshire, and as 5.59 to 4.30 for Sussex. To Burley the palm has been

awarded, though she is the principal delinquent. Her increase is far above any of the parishes adduced from Sussex, and is nearly three times the increase of all Rutlandshire, being as 9.18 is to 3.34. I must confess I do not see the “immense superiority” of the condition of these four parishes in Rutlandshire over the four in Sussex. Something is yet behind the veil of 1776, or else there is something yet untold regarding their locality: perhaps we shall discover it by applying the second test—the *population*, for the population has not been alluded to at all, nor the acreage given, except in the case of Burley, which has been represented as nearly 4,000 acres. In the Labourers’ Friend Society, Mr. Dudlow says at page 242 of its publications, that both parishes, Burley and Burwash are “nearly equal in point of extent:” but does not say whether in extent of surface or of inhabitants. There is in fact a great difference in the extent of the population, which in Burwash is 8 to 1 of what it is in Burley, yet Burwash has not accelerated at the same ratio as Burley has done, as we shall perceive if again we apply our proportions. If in 1776 Burley was burdened to the amount of 11*l.*, and Burwash paid 470*l.*, what ought Burwash to pay in 1825 to 1829, if Burley paid 101*l.* The quotient is 4,316*l.*; or 1,654*l.* more than Burwash did pay.*

But let us look, my Lord, at the population.

Rutlandshire,	In 1801.	And in 1831.	
Hambleton . . .	336 . .	297	less by 39
Egleton . . .	135 . .	137 more by	2
Greetham . . .	423 . .	505	82 or 40 per cent.
Burley . . .	192 . .	232	40 . 21 per cent.
	<hr/> 1,086	<hr/> 1,171	<hr/> 124
		less	39
			<hr/>
		leaves	85, or 8 per cent.

* Sir George Rose, observes, “It is quite evident, on an attentive inspection of the returns, that the largest parishes pay considerably the highest rates.”

Sussex,	In 1801.	And in 1831.	
Burwash . . .	1,524 . .	1,966	more by 442 or 29 per cent.
Mayfield . . .	1,849 . .	2,738 . .	889 . 50 per cent.
Shipley . . .	997 . .	1,180 . .	183 . 18 per cent.
West Grinstead .	939 . .	1,292 . .	353 . 38 per cent.
	<hr/> 5,309	<hr/> 7,176	<hr/> 1,867 . 35 per cent.

This difference in the increase of the population of the parishes in Sussex, of 35 per cent. and of only 8 per cent. in Rutlandshire, ought to have produced a greater difference in the increase of the expenditure than it has done, of 5.59 to 5.50, if the parishes in the two counties are to be exhibited as the groundwork of a remedial alteration in the system of parochial management.

On this subject, of letting garden allotments to the labourer, I feel with Mr. Pym, and with that gentleman would say, as he does at page 385 of the Evidence, “I have seen many printed and other statements which appear to me *too sanguine*.” And in the evidence I had the honour to give before their Lordships’ Committee, I selected Mr. Estcourt’s case, of which Mr. Pym said he had read, but did not know whether the plan had been continued. The progress of the system adopted at Long Newnton may be gathered from Mr. Estcourt’s evidence. When the plan was commenced in 1801, the effect was so complete, that it provided what might be termed an annihilation of the poor-rate, which had been previously enormous, the population for 1801 being 196, and the expenditure 234*l.*, or 1*l.* 13*s.* per head, with a surface of 3,000 acres: for the expenditure was reduced gradually but speedily, being in 1805 only 37*l.* 6*s.* 1*d.*, or 3*s.* 9 $\frac{3}{4}$ *d.* per head. But upon perusing the table at page 371 of the Evidence, we perceive that in 1811, when the population was 219, the rate had augmented to 201*l.* 17*s.*, or 18*s.* 5*d.* per head. It has, however, settled down for the ten years previous to 1829 at 10*s.* 8*d.* And really, my Lord, this is a case whose varia-

tions and defections may be useful as cautions to others, but are not of a character to render it a paragon: for the expenditure for the whole county of Wilts, taking the rates in 1829 and the population return of 1831, is only 14s. 5d. per head; especially when we recollect that several of the labourers have had so large a plot of land as to enable them to do without employment; and that the remainder had allotments too; and in many cases, where they had large families, had the rent of their cottage paid in addition.

I might have alluded to the case of Mr. Pullen, too, which on examination of his evidence and pamphlet, seems to present facts far too equivocal I fear for any practical purpose; but as I presume enough has now been said to show, that all such instances are upon close investigation detected to be by no means remedial, and that some further efforts must be made to discover the right method of deliverance from the burdens so loudly acknowledged, because so universally felt, I shall proceed to give your Lordship an opportunity of learning the conclusions to which my reflections on these topics have brought me, and propose to enter upon the subject in my next communication.

I beg to remain, &c.

LETTER IX.

MY LORD,

IN placing before your Lordship, as I now propose to do, the detail of my opinion on the subject of an amelioration in the condition of the poor man, I would commence by stating that before any improvement can be effected in his circumstances to an extent which will relieve the country of the necessity of providing for him so entirely, that he is a burden neither upon the charities of the rich, nor upon the collections made for the maintenance of paupers, nor upon the profits of the farmer; but is capable of supporting himself by honest industry with perfect independence: he requires to be fenced round from the encroachment of those obstacles which impede him in his pursuit after prosperity, and occasion his call for assistance.

To suppose that he is capable of relieving himself without aid, is to conclude contrary to our experience; and to imagine that no means can be discovered to assist him to help himself, is to abandon his case without effort. After examining his condition minutely, with the intention of devising and of presenting before him some practicable plan, he surely ought not to be relinquished in despair by an enlightened nation, though the enterprise be arduous. We should remember that the end is internal and domestic policy, calling upon each individual to exert himself for the welfare of the whole. It would be most presumptuous in one so very humble as myself, to expect to produce a scheme perfectly eligible; and the ut-

most I can hope for is to contribute in some degree, however small, to accomplish a purpose so truly benevolent.

In endeavouring to render my sentiments intelligible and perspicuous, I would arrange them with reference to the following objects:—

TO REDUCE THE SUPPLY OF LABOUR, WHERE IT IS EXCESSIVE:
TO SECURE EMPLOYMENT, WHEN NECESSARY, AT FAIR WAGES:
TO COMPUTE THE CHANCE OF CALAMITY:
AND TO ANTICIPATE THE SEASON OF DECREPITUDE AND EXTREME AGE.

To carry into effect a system which would be calculated to apply suitable and sufficient remedies for those evils which threaten the agricultural resources of the country with exhaustion, I would propose *the preliminary step* of bestowing upon the owners and proprietors of the soil, whether consisting of nobility, gentry, clergy, or yeomanry, permission to associate under the denomination or title of COMMISSIONERS OF THE POOR in those parishes and neighbourhoods in which their lands are situated; and of communicating to them power and authority to inquire into the state of any land granted by deed of gift or mortmain, or allotted at the time of the inclosure, or by any other method set apart, separated, or appointed for the use of the poor, and conveyed to trustees to be let, and the rents, profits, and monies arising from them to be laid out or expended on behalf of, or given to the poor; and of consulting with the trustees whether such lands might be let on lease to such commissioners at a rent not lower than the usual rent for which the lands had been previously and customarily let; or at a fair rent to be fixed upon between the commissioners and the trustees, for the purpose of securing to the charities, to which such funds had formerly been applied, an undiminished income in the hands of the same trustees.

The object of such enactment should be to enable the commissioners to let the lands to the poor in various ways, to effect the purposes of the 43rd of Queen Elizabeth, cap. 2, which

cannot now be adopted; but which the 12th and 13th sections of the 59 Geo. 3. cap. 12, and the 1 & 2 Will. 4. cap. 42. have since regulated.

It might be advantageous to extend to such commissioners the power to concert with the trustees to exchange such lands if situated at a distance from the town or village where the poor reside, so great as to render it materially inconvenient for the use and occupancy of the poor, for other lands located more favourably: provided the charitable intentions of the donors of such lands were in no degree altered or injured.

And as it may frequently happen that no such land has been so given or so allotted for the use of the poor, in a parish, I should conclude it might be desirable to invest such commissioners with permission to take a portion of the waste or common land, if there were any, with the sanction of the proprietor of the manorial rights. And in case of failing to obtain possession of land by this method, I would suggest that the commissioners might be empowered to rent land on lease, but only at a fair and reasonable rent.

In the attempt to procure the occupation of land, it is possible that some contingencies might arise for which it would be requisite to make provision. The land might at some future period alter very considerably in value, especially if situated near the residences of the inhabitants; and to meet that occurrence, it would be safe to stipulate that the value of the rental shall be re-estimated every seven years, by competent persons appointed on both sides by the commissioners and trustees. Another case to provide for, might be the removal of the commissioners from such lands, provided the trustees found them more valuable for other purposes than for occupation, such as for building ground, or for other improvements; and then the commissioners should be required to deliver up the lands to the trustees upon due notice, but not until the commissioners or the trustees had found other lands in exchange, to which the labours of the poor might be transferred.

The 59 Geo. 3. cap. 12. gives to churchwardens and overseers the power to take land and let it to the poor; but as it frequently occurs that such parish officers are too little interested in the occupation of land to make them anxiously solicitous to prevent the poor from the necessity of applying to the overseers for relief, by providing them with employment; and as large occupiers have too great interest in the produce of the soil to allow themselves to spare much time for attending to the poor, and as the poor-rate falls inevitably as a tax upon the landlord, it is evident that the duty of regulating the means of providing for the poor should be intrusted by the authority of parliament to other hands; since it is quite apparent that the present parties are thoroughly incompetent to apply the existing remedies beneficially, and would be most probably equally inefficient, though larger powers were granted to them.*

The proprietor is the most deeply concerned in the prosperity of agriculture; and though he may relinquish his own advantage, by taking only a low rent for his land, whatever the amount of the levies may be, and however they may vary,

* Since this letter was written, and long since the opinion of the incompetency of the present parties was conceived, I observed the following remark in the Report of the Committee of the House of Commons in 1817: "Instead, therefore, of having" (as we read at page 21) "in this part of the kingdom, persons the most educated, enlightened, and interested in the welfare of the parish, entrusted with the administration of its affairs, we have doubtless a respectable, but a less enlightened class of persons" than they have in Scotland, who are the heritors and kirk session, (i. e. the *land-owners* and ministers and elders of the church,) "appointed annually for the purpose; and, however fit for the duty annual officers of this description may have been in the reign of Elizabeth, it is obvious that the task which now devolves upon them, is of such disproportionate magnitude as to require qualifications to be found only in well-educated persons, and a degree of knowledge and experience which is incompatible with an annual appointment." After the Committee have recommended us to seek an educated and enlightened person who is interested in the welfare of the parish, they have fixed upon an assistant overseer at a salary. Showing both the importance and the difficulty of the case.

an advantage which would augment in proportion as his land was exonerated from the rates, because he might ask more rent; yet it is questionable whether he can, by the surrender of his own interests, escape from the responsibility he owes to the public, of endeavouring to keep down the rates to their lowest possible level. His power to interfere is much circumscribed, by rendering the occupier liable for the poor-rate. That he is destitute of, and wants, new authority and extended influence appears certain, when we recollect that of all the large landed proprietors in the kingdom who have devoted their attention with much assiduity to the subject, and have employed the powers they possess on their own estates, not one has been able to produce, or made to bear upon the evil, any remedy which can be safely recommended because it has been tried and found expedient and capable of general application, or of sufficient eligibility to claim the patronage of Parliament. I do not, therefore, discover the error of the 59 Geo. 3. cap. 12. sec. 12. and 13. to be in the power it gives to take land, but in the selection of the party entrusted with it: for I do not think that act bestows upon the poor, who are expected to take and cultivate their respective portions for themselves, a sufficient security of tenure, since the churchwardens and overseers of one year may alter the arrangements of their predecessors of the former year; and, by rendering the tenancy of the poor too precarious to warrant an efficiency of cultivation, may deprive them of the opportunity of gaining all the advantage they might do, if the circumstances under which, and the parties from whom, they now rent the land, were permanently empowered.

And I would respectfully suggest, that the rich lose much of the esteem and attachment of the poor, and consequently of their influence over them, by the compulsion the poor are under of considering the rich as a magisterial authority, supporting the stern dictates of the overseer; and not, as, under a change of circumstances, they might

become, the most true and the best friends of the poor. It may seem, and it is, very amiable, when the rich distribute their alms to the poor, particularly in the winter, whether in food or clothing, yet what is this in amount when compared with the produce of the half or quarter acre of land? And, indeed, were it more in amount to each family than the whole value of the produce, yet the advantages of employment, the occupation of idle hours when the mind cannot find engagement from reading, the energy it gives to the younger members of the family, and the genial habit of industry it induces, are motives which should constrain the rich to aim to effect this greater good. The attachment of the poor too is very valuable; their gratitude, their respectful behaviour, their offices of kindness, as far as it is in their power to show any reciprocity, would, I am persuaded, amply repay the opulent land-owner for attending to this matter *himself*, instead of permitting it to remain in the hands of the overseer.

For these and other causes, it seems to me most reasonable that this matter should not be left to the mutable direction of annual parochial officers, nor to the vestry, which is generally composed of clashing interests, nor to trustees, whose chief duty is to procure possession of the funds and to see them appropriated; but to commissioners, whose intention would be comprehensive charity, aiming to consult the advantage of all without partiality.

When this *preliminary step* has been taken, and commissioners have associated and are in possession of land, we may hope to witness a power with means adequate to obviate the difficulties of the case, if wisely applied.

I am not unaware, my Lord, that an act of Parliament, the 2nd of Will. 4. cap. 42, is now in force "to authorize (in parishes inclosed under any act of Parliament) the letting of the Poor Allotments in small portions to industrious Cottagers," though I had not seen it when the above remarks

were written. To this plan, as contributory to the scheme which I presume must yet be pursued to provide employment for the poor, and to reduce the amount of the poor-rates, I cannot object, as it was recommended in the statement I had the honour to place before their Lordships' Committee in writing, but which could not be received, as it was considered not to bear the character of evidence; yet the act will not, I am apprehensive, be found practicable, for the following reasons:—

1st; Because it may be destructive of the objects of the charity.

For it enacts, in the eighth section, that the rents of the portions of land let to the poor, shall be applied by the vestry in the purchase of fuel, to be distributed among the poor parishioners: and this is the sole appropriation of the funds for which the act provides, whatever was the original intention expressed in the act of inclosure. As the act now stands, if land were allotted for any other purpose than to provide fuel for the poor, it must in future be so applied; perhaps the first section should have had the word “exclusively,” instead of “*chiefly* with a view to fuel.”

2ndly; Because it is inadequate to its own intention.

For it admits only the “industrious cottager,” see title:—

“Industrious cottagers of good character being day-labourers or journeymen;” see 1st section: it inquires into his “character and circumstances,” and requires that he be an “industrious cottager of good character,” see 3rd section. It intends to assist those who in general are well provided for, but does not attempt to improve the less reputable among the poor; neither will it admit the petty tradesman, nor artificer, who has not any employment in winter, though he should get higher wages in summer, and who, being removed from the labour-market, ought particularly, if possible, to be assisted; nor does it provide more land if the quantity allotted is not

sufficient to supply each applicant with a portion, except by reducing the quantity to each; and as the quantity cannot be brought below a quarter of an acre, perhaps in some parishes it may be but a means of tantalizing. It should be remembered that to let land to the poor is by this act compulsory; to rent more under the 59 Geo. 3. cap. 12, or 1 & 2 Will. 4. cap. 42. is only optional.

3rdly; Because it does not fix the mode of culture.

For it does not once allude to that for which of all other things it appears the most important to make provision, that it be cultivated solely by the spade. The whole intention would at once be obviated, if it should happen that the occupiers should agree to have the field ploughed up and sown with wheat immediately after they had gained possession of it. And if it were old sward, a case by no means uncommon with such allotments, the produce at first would, it is probable, be very great; but the ruin of the land would with equal probability be immediately effected, and then the poor might refuse to cultivate it.

4thly; Because the interests of the charity might suffer.

For it takes the whole management out of the power of the trustees, and commits it to the vestry, and particularly to the churchwardens and overseers under the control of the vestry; and in defiance of the remonstrances of the trustees: and though the trustees may have watched the interests of the charity, it permits the lands to be ploughed or dug up, even if in pasture, and then requires them to be reduced in value to only the same standard as other arable land in the parish, and let to the poor at that standard. No shield protects the charity; but the enactment even vitiates the very act of charity by making it parochial relief, which it virtually becomes when transferred from the trustees to the overseers of the poor; for in the distribution of the fuel it bestows no right to discriminate.

5thly; Because it affords an opportunity for fraud.

For it will not allow the rent to be paid but only once in the year, instead of quarterly. If, after the termination of the quarter, the rent were not paid within one month, to fix a penalty, and if that be disregarded, to give power to distrain, and that distress to lie against the crop and not the goods of the house, would keep the poor more honest.

6thly; Because it is not sufficiently restrictive with regard to the erections.

For it enacts that no habitations be erected, but does not exclude the building of styes or hovels; and if these should be erected, and stock of any description should be admitted, great injury might repeatedly ensue, since the allotments would not be separated by fences.

7thly; Because it fixes the period of tenure from Michaelmas to Michaelmas.

For the churchwardens are elected at Easter and the overseers at Lady-day, and have to perform an act for the result of which they have no regard, and are not responsible; having quitted their office before the term, for which the act requires them to let the land, has expired. And again, for the poor may find it very injurious if obliged to remove from the land at Michaelmas, before they have gathered a very important portion of the crop, the potatoes. Would it not be desirable to let the land to the poor man for a term of 3, 5, or 7 years?

8thly; Because it is particular instead of general, and vice versâ.

For it regulates some points which ought to be left to discretion, as local circumstances may present a variety of facts; and regards others indefinitely which it ought to fix peremptorily.

The effect of this act is to take from trustees and to give to parochial officers, a power which should be entrusted only to commissioners.

I have the honour to be, &c. &c.

LETTER X.

MY LORD,

You will now be pleased to recollect that my *first point*, as stated at the commencement of my last letter, is to attempt *to reduce the supply of labour to the market, when it exceeds the demand*. The able-bodied *supernumerary* labourer is, therefore, the primary object of our regard. To him *emigration* has been proposed. If he enter into the scheme voluntarily and pursue it effectually, it appears to be a valuable adjunct to other methods for curtailing the mischief produced by a superabundant supply of labour; but it cannot be regulated with any certainty, and is quite uncontrollable, being just as likely to prevail where it is not wanted as where it is: and is, consequently, to be feared if entered into with ardour by the labouring population. And it is questionable whether it would relieve the farmer; for he would be under the necessity of paying as much poor-rate as before: and if the labourers were thinned a little too much, he would, in addition, pay a higher price for less labour. Could, however, land be let to the better sort of labourer, in a quantity adequately extensive to withdraw him from the labour-market almost or altogether; and when he has made a moderate accumulation of property, should he be enticed to emigrate, he would not burden the parish with the cost of his transmission, but make room for another to supply his place at home. Under such circumstances he would emigrate with great advantage to both himself, the parish, and the labour-market. And possibly such enticement might

be tendered in the shape of land at a very low price, which would assist him to overcome any dislike of expatriation he might have formerly cherished.

Should his circumstances not improve to the degree of enabling him to avail himself of such privilege, yet the labour-market would be largely assisted if a certain number were admitted upon the land taken into hand by the commissioners, and were allowed to occupy a sufficiency of it to enable them to subsist well, without employment being provided for them by the parish. They might be permitted to obtain occasional employment where and when they could, even in the parish, only not under the same necessity as that which requires the farmer to find work for those who are inserted in the parish roll of regular labourers. Their dependence for employment would be entirely casual, no farmer being under any obligation to engage them, but doing so with perfect and unfettered voluntariness, and over and above his constant and fair quota; considering the amount of his rent, or rate, or according to any other rule, by which the distribution of the labourers to each occupier may be ordinarily graduated.

This portion of the plan is applicable to only the supernumerary hands, who constitute an excess beyond the number who can generally and usually find room upon the land, and is consequently unneeded by many country parishes. Two, or from that to three, acres of good land would be enough to answer this object under spade cultivation.

There are at present four parties specially connected with the circumstances which arise out of the culture of the soil, the *proprietor*, the *occupier*, the *labourer*, and the *magistrate*. The owner expects that he who rents the soil should retain in his employ a sufficient number of labourers to keep it in profitable cultivation, and should pay them wages reasonably competent to prevent excessive increase of the rates; which would prove a lasting injury to the interests of the proprietor. In his turn, the occupier is jealous of the interference of the

magistrate with the labour-market, and apprehends that his profits may be dwindled by a price more high for labour than he can endure without loss of capital. And the labourer requires the defence of his just claims for the means of subsistence from the authority of the magistrate; while the magistrate sits in equity, and by a re-action, keeps the three parties from mutual imposition. The principal effort, therefore, must be to give efficiency to his decision, while he is carefully restricted by the limits assigned through the regulation of wise and specific acts of the legislature; and I am not aware, my Lord, that such acts are very difficult of construction, or application, where means have been taken to render the population no longer redundant in agricultural labourers.

Not until the commissioners can grasp the superabundant supply of labour, and can control it and hold it in abeyance so effectually as to produce an equipendency between it and the demand, can any amelioration of the residue be achieved; but when that is done, I think it may. In those parishes, therefore, where there are not any superfluous hands to be subtracted from the market by the commissioners, I should consequently conclude that means might be applied to reduce their collections for the relief of the poor.

After a sufficient number have been withdrawn from the labour-market, and a fair opportunity is afforded to all parties connected with the culture of the soil to balance their own interests honestly, but only with equity to the whole of our population, for it is due to the community at large that this extensive portion of our national property should be protected but not favoured; to the remaining number of labourers might with singular advantage be applied the effects of *a labour-rate*. The farmer ought not to complain, when the amount of labour brought to market is no more than he ought, in justice to all parties, to employ, because the excess of the supply has been removed out of his way; but because the farmer who neglects

to take into his service men enough to cultivate the land to a reasonable height is a public injury, a degree of *unoppressive* compulsion should bind him to a proper regard for his own interests. The proprietor has a just claim for a sufficient guarantee that the occupier shall employ men adequate to a due degree of cultivation, that the soil be not deteriorated, which it is probable will be in better heart the more it produces, provided the produce be returned upon it. The owner's interest in the soil is indeed paramount, though his protection is very scantily provided for at present, legislatively. If the occupier refuse or neglect to take his full complement of men, and the rate is enlarged, the owner suffers both ways. His rent may remain the same under the occupancy of the present tenant: but he would find a new tenant would complain of the rates, and would urge a reduction in the amount of the rent; especially as the other evil would be discovered, that the land had been suffered to go out of order for want of employing a suitable number of labourers. The landed proprietor who demises his farm to another may be supposed entitled to a labour-rate, where there is not any redundancy of able-bodied men, or where they have been desumed from the market by letting them sufficient land; when any are thrown upon the rates who ought to be employed.*

When the superfluous labourers are removed from the market, and the labour-rate has provided those who are left in it with regular employment, I do not think it objectionable that the magistrates or the commissioners of the poor, many of whom would probably be in the commission of the peace, should be empowered to fix the *minimum of wages*. If the number

* The act of 2 & 3 Will. 4. cap. 96, alluded to at page 16, appears to conclude obversely, for it does not allow the proprietor this protection, except where the labourers are so numerous, and draw so largely upon the farmers, that the rates equal 5s. in the pound on the rack-rent. The above was, however, written before I had read the act.

be brought down so low as to make it unjust to reject the applicant for employment, it is equitable between him and the farmer that the magistrate should interfere; and require, if employment be denied, that the farmer shall pay the same minimum of wages, whether he take the labour the poor man offers; or suffer him to be idle when willing to work. In fact it is only the same thing as rendering the labour-rate compulsory with an additional price, regulated by a scale according to the price of grain, and, if the minimum of the wages only be regarded, perhaps even with respect to the number in the family too, making the old scheme of the scale subservient under altered circumstances, and applied not generally but individually to every separate case.

Objections may be raised against permission being intrusted with the magistrate to fix the lowest price of wages, or the highest allowance for relief; but may it not be better, my Lord, to invest the magistrate by a direct enactment with an authority he now assumes illegally, and carries to an injurious length, if he ever regulate *the highest price of both wages and relief*, and that indiscriminately through a district?

Allow me, Sir, to repeat that the parties should be correctly poised. At present who can calculate the enormous cost of the poor, and the burden they are upon the various resources of the kingdom, without any improvement in their condition? The amount paid for the labour of the man, the earnings of the other members of the family, the collections levied for relief, and the supply from innumerable sources of charity, all unite their voices to call for some honourable project of equity and benevolence, conferring a universal blessing. I shall not count the time I have spent on these pages lost, if in the smallest measure they shall be contributory to this purpose; neither shall I consider that I have acted contrary to my sacred profession, if I have aided to accomplish an amendment in the temporal condition of the poor; for their present state is greatly obstructive to the methods the clergy are expected to

adopt for promoting the temporal prosperity, and the spiritual happiness, and the eternal hopes of the humbler classes of their charge: and if it can be effected without disturbing the relative rights of all parties, because their respective interests are faithfully regarded, the whole of the population will derive advantage without any sacrifice. I would humbly, therefore, reassert, my Lord, my conviction of the value of attempting to equipoise, as far as it can be done, the undoubted rights of all the parties concerned.

Going forward with the supposition that the commissioners are in possession of land, I would propose and recommend that *these remaining labourers* who have been reduced to a number only sufficient to preserve the land in a due state of fertility, *should have allotments* varying in size from one quarter to three quarters of an acre; enough, and no more than enough, to occupy their extra hours, and occasionally to call for the co-operation of their wife and children. The size of the plot would probably vary according to the value of the produce; which produce depends upon the quality of the soil, and the value of it upon the contiguity of the spot to a market; in some situations a quarter of an acre, or even less, being productive of more profit than in others half an acre would be: but regard should be had to the necessity of supplying the labourer with a profit, on an average of years, of at least 5*l.* under spade culture, after the deduction of all expenses, except his time; which is very practicable.*

Surely, my Lord, this is no trifling matter; when we recollect that one-third of the whole population of Great Britain are employed in agriculture, it is all but imperious to see that they produce at as low a price as possible. Taking the total

* See 'The Poor Man's Best Friend,' by that amiable and praiseworthy clergyman, the Rev. S. Demainbray: where the expenses and profits of spade cultivation are practically exhibited in a faithful and pleasing manner.

population at 16,537,398, one-third is 5,512,466; and if we give five and a half to each family, and call them one million, and say that half only of these are labourers' families occupied in agriculture, we have 500,000. If to each family be given only 1s. a week per annum, we have the sum of 1,300,000*l*. Could then the superabundant labourers be removed out of the market, and afterwards employment be found for the remaining portion at moderate wages, the expenses attendant upon corn-growing would be kept down most beneficially to the country at large. And could the labourer at the same time be enabled to come to market with a little more money which he has gathered from his extra industry upon the soil, our own manufacturer would benefit by the consumption of the articles he has prepared; while the occupier too is more able to enter the market for our manufactured goods; which in turn are furnished to the farmer and to the labourer at a lower rate, because so much has not been paid to the labourer as wages, nor for relief.*

Neither is it, I hope, a matter of mere speculation, or if it is, I am not quite singular in entertaining a supposition of its value. The very judicious and experimental evidence of Earl Stanhope, strongly corroborates the correctness of my sentiments. That his Lordship has not succeeded quite so well as he had intended to do, appears to arise from that for which I am desirous to be an incessant advocate, the combination of expedients already in operation; but ineffectual from want of combination.

* The productions also of the higher branches of art and science would meet with more encouragement, as the landed proprietor would be defended in his claim for a reasonable, fair, and equitable amount of rent; which would soon find its correct level in the degree of demand there would be for farms, whether larger or smaller be that degree; and justly secured to him by the honourable balance maintained between all parties in the country: without those draughts too upon his charity purse which go now to eke out the bare subsistence of the poor, and not to add to their comforts. The nationality of the benefit effected by the independence of the labourer calls for parliamentary interference.

For an individual to attempt to effect such association of remedies within his own sphere, is, at most, to insure them only during the term of his own ascendancy over them; and because they cannot, with absolute certitude, be made continuous, he may be reluctant to commence what he cannot perpetuate. My wishes and attempts to let land in my own parish on a larger scale are paralyzed for the present, and I am still hindered from seeking to make much alteration before I can enjoy the warranty of parliamentary sanction. That justly esteemed prelate, the Lord Bishop of Bath and Wells, may wish his clergy to follow his own most benevolent example of letting land to the poor labourers in their respective parishes, and to cast the rays of his benign influence to the remotest extremities of his Lordship's diocese; but this influence can with certainty be maintained only during the term of his own episcopate. As all posthumous good is the best good any one can effect, I cannot but suppose his Lordship would rejoice to have it in his power to continue the advantage for generations to come: then would many yet unborn rise up to admire and bless his memory. Long may his Lordship live, to plead the cause of the poor in their Lordships' house, as well as by his pen and among his clergy; and to see his compassionate desires accomplished and secured to the country at large, and rendered permanent.

How valuable, therefore, would be the efforts of all parties, if united under one comprehensive system. Then might the removal of one benevolent person from a parish or neighbourhood be felt but slightly, as another might be found to fill up the vacancy. The scheme demands such union and co-operation, that the poor may be assured of the continuation of the project, and may enter into the plan without any apprehension if its being suspended.

I have the honour to be, &c.

LETTER XI.

MY LORD,

WHEN the Savings Bank system was introduced, I received it with much satisfaction, in hope it would benefit the labourer in agriculture, but I soon found the statement made by Mr. Pym, at page 386 of the Evidence, was the result. The aspect of the poor laws is too forbidding to encourage the labourer to attempt to make any deposits. If it were known that he had placed any money in the savings bank, he would, if belonging to a parish overstocked with labour, and as soon as the circumstance was discovered, be refused employment; and if he applied to the magistrate, the law would not permit the magistrate to make an order for relief till the whole of the money the labourer had hoarded in the bank were expended.

I then directed my attention to the Friendly Society system; and here again was I foiled, for it was vain to attempt to ask a poor man to deposit before he had earned such deposit. How then can the man be provided with more income? Let the farmers give more wages. No, for this would be obnoxious to the plan adopted by the magistrates of regulating the price of wages, a plan necessarily excrescent from the poor laws; and would be inequitable. For if in a parish not oppressed with extra labourers, the farmers should happen to give more wages, it would be unjust towards the farmers of another parish, in the same division, much oppressed with a superabundance of labour; unless they gave their labourers so much for labour, and so much more as a gratuity, to be placed in the friendly

society. And if in any parish more wages were given, the object of making a benefit society run parallel with such increase of wages, would not be attained, unless it were certain that the poor man would deposit the surplus of wages given him with such intention.

But it may be asked me, *will it not answer the purpose to let land to the poor, omitting the benefit society?* My reply is a negative, for in the case of Long Newnton, we find the profit gained by the land has not effected uninterruptedly a complete subjugation of that hydra the poor-rate, much less its extermination. Yet I must confess that I think if, when Mr. Estcourt's respected father had first intrusted the allotments to the poor, he had stipulated that they should deposit so much according to their age, as would have been sufficient to provide for sickness, for old age, and for a sum at death, he would at least have crippled the monster, and taken in hand the privilege of utterly nullifying all its future efforts for the renewal of its own predominancy. And if difficulties had afterwards arisen to prevent the poor from continuing constantly and regularly to make such deposits, their amount might have been added to the rent, and claimed and received from them by Mr. Estcourt as rent, and deposited for them by him in the benefit society, with the same regularity as they observed for the payment of the rent; and it would have been calculated to insure on the part of Mr. Estcourt a more constant attention to the welfare of the poor, and have supplied him with a reasonable plea for his insisting on the faithful payment of the rent at the appointed season, as their advantage would be identified with his own. At any rate would it not be wise, my Lord, to endeavour to rescue from the amount of additional benefit derived by the poor from the culture of land on their own account, a portion for the benefit society? If it was esteemed desirable to establish and encourage a benefit society, when the labourer was receiving only wages for labour, and those wages scarcely sufficient for his subsistence; it is more than desirable, perhaps

almost an obligation, arising from the duties we owe to our country at large, to accomplish, if possible, an end so very valuable to all, and so entirely innoxious to any, when the means to do so are superadded to the wages.

It is not a novelty to expect labourers to deposit from their earnings a small portion against a season of calamity or decrepitude. This most liberal and judicious system cannot, however, be imitated generally, because it would add too largely to the expenses of farming: but if the poor are placed in a situation of earning something more than the usual price for labour, they ought not to complain if a portion of their extra earnings be deposited in a place of security. For this purpose, the benefit society is preferable to the savings bank, and should be primarily regarded; especially as it would not act as a preventive of their depositing in the savings bank, on their own account, any further sums they might be able and willing to hoard.

Evidence of the strongest kind is presented by the report of the Hampshire Friendly Society,* at the annual meeting in July 1830, that such institutions are generally incapable of comprising the labourer in agriculture, except at such a reduced premium as to render the advantages too inconsiderable, or the existence of the institution too precarious. “It is feared,” says that report, “without a material reduction in the amount of the monthly contributions, its advantages, like those of the savings bank, will, for the most part, be monopolized by the higher classes of mechanics and domestic servants, whilst the inferior labourers will still continue in their present wretched state of poverty and abject dependence upon the parish rates.” The report then proceeds to propose a plan for

* I bring forward this society in particular, because it was framed after Mr. Becher’s own model, and is sufficient to exhibit the impossibility of rendering friendly societies a substitute for poor-rates, and that such an institution is to occupy only its own proper position in a complicated scheme, and can never be remedial when isolated.

extending the advantages tendered by the friendly society to the labourer in agriculture, not by their own means, but by effecting in their favour a reduction in the amount of the deposit required from members in general, through “an adequate increase of honorary subscriptions”: and argumentatively to support this principle adjoins, “And surely those who desire to improve the condition of the poor, and relieve the country from the increasing and almost intolerable burden of the poor-rates, will not consider *a small annual subscription ill-bestowed in seconding the efforts of this institution.*”

The case of this institution was one of those which scared me from advancing in a proposal made last spring, for endeavouring, in concert with some of the gentry and clergy, to form an extensive friendly society for the southern part of the county of Northampton; for the Hampshire friendly society had raised by voluntary contributions, principally through the laudable benevolence and exertion of Mr. Fleming, the late member for the county, upwards of five thousand pounds, the interest of which is consumed together with subscriptions to the amount of perhaps 100*l.* per annum, in the expenses incurred by 625 males, 222 females, and 271 children who are to receive endowments at 14 or 21 years of age; selected principally from among the higher classes of mechanics and domestic servants, who are resident, of course not so much in the villages as, in the towns of the county.

That such society is not valuable, I am not prepared to assert, my Lord, but I cannot discover in it a remedy for the poor laws, though I think it might be rendered subservient in no inconsiderable measure to that purpose, when acting in combination with other means; and the report seems perfectly aware of the inadequacy of the institution, since it “*most earnestly solicits the continuance* of the honorary subscriptions, as the salaries absolutely necessary to remunerate, in any degree, the services of the medical and other officers, greatly exceed the amount originally calculated to defray the expenses of manage-

ment; and both the *continuance and increase* of those subscriptions, to effect a reduction of the rate of payments to a nearer proportion with the present very low rate of wages of the labouring classes; and most especially of those engaged in agriculture." I must acknowledge it to be a much more advantageous scheme, and equally effective of our object, if the money come, not from the rich, but from the industry of the poor themselves.

It is interesting to observe the comparative state of our counties with respect to savings banks. For this information we are indebted to the assiduity of John Tidd Pratt, Esq., the barrister-at-law appointed to certify the rules of savings banks and of friendly societies in England and Wales, &c. &c., by whom I had the honour of being presented with a copy of his work. I have selected the counties which Mr. Slaney has enumerated in his Evidence at page 195; and in order to obtain a more exact understanding of the case, I would premise that the difference is not to be accounted for by the number of the population. By the last census the population was — For the eight northern counties 2,357,800, and

For the eight southern counties 2,323,300

forming a difference of 34,500 more in the north than in the south. And as they are so much better off in the north, according to Mr. Slaney's representation, we may suppose they are depositors to a much larger amount than in the south: but the reverse is the fact.

The northern counties:	Savings Banks.
Yorkshire, the three ridings	£ 1,055,005
Lincoln	213,088
Westmorland	23,807
Cumberland	127,916
Northumberland	292,972
Durham	151,417
	<hr/>
	£ 1,864,205

The southern counties :	Savings Banks.
Kent	£ 523,010
Sussex	260,663
Surrey	380,960
Oxford	148,629
Wilts	249,751
Berks	244,909
Norfolk	191,624
Dorset	235,118
	<hr/>
	£ 2,234,664
Deduct the northern counties	1,864,205
	<hr/>
Difference	£ 370,459

It is therefore evident that while the southern counties had not so much population by 34,500, their deposits in the savings bank were more by £370,459.

It will not detain your attention long, if I compare Sussex with Nottinghamshire.

	Population.	Savings Bank.
Sussex	272,300	£ 260,663
Nottinghamshire	225,400	223,106

To show the prosperity of Nottinghamshire over Sussex, Mr. Becher represents that in Nottinghamshire there are $11\frac{1}{2}$ persons in every hundred who are depositors in friendly societies, according to parliamentary report in 1815, but in Sussex only $2\frac{1}{2}$ in every hundred. Taking the census of 1821, there were therefore 21,490 depositors in Nottinghamshire, and only 5,825 in Sussex; but when we divide the amount of money deposited in each county by those depositors, it gives for each in Nottinghamshire 15*s.* 8*d.*, and in Sussex 2*l.* 5*s.* 8*d.* each. As, however, Mr. Tidd Pratt's returns were made up to November the 20th, 1830, and the census was taken in 1831, we may inquire what each person had deposited in the savings bank in each county, and we discover that to each of the population it gives in Sussex 18*s.* 5*d.*, and to each in Nottinghamshire 19*s.* 9*d.* There is not, therefore, in these two

counties so much difference in their savings banks as to exhibit Nottinghamshire in a better condition than Sussex, or to prove that higher wages are required in Sussex to bring her into the same state of prosperity, as Mr. Becher presumes does exist in Nottinghamshire. A suspicion is created too that the column in Mr. Becher's tabular illustration at page 317 of the Evidence, entitled "Number of members in friendly societies in every 100 persons," is a fallacious test of the prosperity of the counties respectively, as he proposes to make it in the comparative view he gives of Nottinghamshire and Sussex at the foot of pages 296 and 297. For this, however, that gentleman is not responsible, as it is taken from returns made to parliament; but only for the application of the facts.

For the purpose then of giving more energy to the system of saving, whether in banks or friendly societies, I would add the plan of allotments, for after all it is by means of those institutions that the country must be relieved, and I cannot imagine that either of them can be dispensed with; the only difficulty of the case being the inability of the labourer in agriculture to obtain sufficient, after his subsistence is provided for, to enable him to secure further advantages in them. Servants and the better sort of mechanics have this privilege, and their case is provided for, when they first secure their interest in the friendly society; though I would submit to your Lordship that their case would be much more complete if government could form an annuity or tontine society, for depositors in savings banks, receiving the amount of their deposits and allowing them an annuity for life, or in the decline of life, to commence at a given age.* The case, however, of

* I had not at this time seen the report of Lord Milton's Committee on Life Annuities in 1829, where a similar plan is recommended in the Evidence: and I expect a bill will be brought into parliament this session on the subject of granting permission to the depositors in savings banks to pur-

the agricultural labourer is not yet duly regarded. As it is not possible to provide a system of benefits sufficiently reduced to meet his circumstances, it will be necessary to improve his condition; and while adding to his present comforts, to assure him an opportunity for obtaining assistance in calamity and decrepitude.

The parish of Thurgarton, in Nottinghamshire, of which Mr. Becher is incumbent, may be produced as a specimen illustrative of the system I propose, except that it may not be practicable to raise the poor of every parish to a state of prosperity so high as that to which the agricultural labouring inhabitants of this favoured village have been elevated under the parental eye of Mr. Becher. From the description given of them in the ‘Anti-pauper System,’ and in the ‘Evidence,’ we learn that in Thurgarton the population is 300, the acreage 3,000, and the weekly wages 12*s.*, and by piece-work frequently from 12*s.* to 16*s.* It is therefore conspicuous that *their number on the land is not many*, and that the *wages are high*, and consequently that there cannot reasonably be any want of *employment*, excluding the manufactories altogether. Yet they are represented as being “depositors to the Southwell *friendly society* and to the *savings bank*, to a very large amount; and have their houses as well furnished, and their persons as well clad, according to their circumstances, as any of their superiors.” But then they have *large gardens* not less in extent than a rood, and not more than half an acre: and Mr. Becher adds, at page 323 of the Evidence, “We have always found that a man is considerably benefited by a small garden, but that the size of it should be such as merely to occupy occasionally his leisure hours, without taking his

chase annuities. Not that the agricultural labourer can be expected to avail himself of such privilege; for if he had the means, he would not like to make any deposit except the annuity were transferable; and if it were transferable it would be saleable, which would not prevent him from becoming chargeable in old age.

labour out of the market, otherwise an injury will be done to the land-owners and occupiers."

Neither is it absolutely necessary to carry measures to such an extent, the *primary object* of political economy being to enable the poor to subsist without being burdensome, and a *secondary one* to become rich. The only points in which the parish of Thurgarton does not apply to my system being, that there is no need of letting large portions of land, as the population is already thin enough; nor no occasion for a labour-rate, as all are employed; and no demand for the regulation of wages, since they are already high. Yet they possess that to which I have not yet alluded, a workhouse, or rather send their poor when necessary to an incorporated workhouse. My own system is complete, and the difficulty lies in being able to afford to other parishes the same opportunities: for I heartily accord with the sentiment expressed at page 29 of Mr. Becher's 'Anti-pauper System.' "While we inculcate these truths upon the higher orders, we are equally bound to impress upon the minds of the working classes the duties of forethought, frugality, and industry, and at the same time to testify the sincerity of our professions for their welfare, *by devising* such means as may place independence within the reach of those who are willing to struggle for its attainment."

The principal difference between Mr. Becher's system, and my own views of the subject, regards the price of wages. I presume that the poor of other parishes, even some of those located in Sussex, might arise to a state of independence, if they were favoured in the same manner as Thurgarton, though their labourers received only 8s. for their labour instead of 12s.

How to provide additional means is the first consideration; and then the second is, how to render such means effectual. In my next communication to your Lordship I trust this will be demonstrated.

I remain, &c.

LETTER XII.

IT is, I presume, my Lord, very generally confessed that an alteration should be made in the means of providing parochially for the poor; and it is not improbable that a principal obstacle, in the way of making an attempt, is the difficulty of knowing where to begin. Whether the old system should be remodelled at once, or whether a new one be introduced, which would gradually advance and occupy the space of the old system, the one expanding with the contraction of the other, it is perhaps not easy to determine. In the latter opinion I am most disposed to concur, since it would be unattended with any immediate violence to the present arrangements.

I would, therefore, propose *to commence with the young*, for to them is the source of the evil to be traced. Early initiated in all the artifices of pauperism by his parents and associates, a lad soon discovers that he must of necessity employ those artifices in his own defence. Efforts are made to compel him to seek employment usually away from his own parish. If he can obtain it at a distance, which he must submit to do at a low rate, he is treated in general with the greatest contempt, and placed perhaps under the severest drudgery. At the expiration of the year he returns to his parish. Once more is he driven from home; and if after a few years he is resolved to continue his residence in his own parish, he is not improbably refused employment, until he can prove, or at least has asserted on oath before a magistrate, that he has not gained a settlement by service in some other parish; or if he do procure em-

ployment, he must work for wages so low as to compel him either to go from home again, or to marry. To raise him into a respectable labourer, after such a course of treatment, is next to impossible, and I fear that to this cause principally is to be attributed the deterioration which has taken place in the character of labourers in agriculture, and invokes a review of the law of settlement.

Such are the men, or rather lads, who marry very early, and their desperate circumstances cause them to marry most improvidently. The general demoralization of a parish will be created and maintained chiefly by the very low, uninstructed, idle, profligate women, who are by this method introduced into it. Attempts to regulate them are almost nugatory. Sometimes a whole parish is disgusted to behold what a wretched person the youth has produced. Can we be astonished that the hand of charity should strive to provide means of enticing the children of such parents as soon as possible to school, and assiduously endeavour to rescue them from such haunts of misery, and train them up for apprenticeship or service? Shall such schools be esteemed repudiable, because this is one of their primary objects? If I am describing a case of rare occurrence, it will avail me but little to apply it as an argument, why we should commence with the young man, and endeavour to provide him with the means of commencing life well, and with a fair prospect of continuing to improve as he advances.

Not unfrequently are the anxious efforts of a clergyman and of his family, and the benevolent co-operations of individuals in his parish, blighted by the treatment shown to the young after they have left school, and are required to seek, by labour, the means of their own subsistence. After being instructed, watched over, advised, trained to regard the outward duties of morality and of religion, it is most painful to experience the deleterious effects of the present evil plan upon the good which it was hoped had been effected; and many

a parent's heart has had bitter cause to regret the removal to a distance of a carefully trained lad, because, on returning home it is discovered, he has lost all regard to the principles in which he had been instructed, and has learnt to defy all attempts to regain parental authority.

When the redundant labourers are in possession of their three-acre piece, and the labour-rate has been made subservient to induce or compel the farmers to employ the labourers who remain, I would recommend that the young man should be offered employment at fair but not high wages, or at such wages as the market affords, or at any rate at such a minimum as the magistrate has fixed: and *should be supplied with half an acre of land to cultivate for himself*. In most cases it would ensure his good behaviour. He will not most probably marry so early, nor can he marry so improvidently, as if he had no such means of adding to the wages of his labour. To his case I would immediately apply the advantages of the *benefit society*, and not permit him to occupy the land, nor feel the necessity of providing him with employment at protecting wages, except as he became a member of a benefit society directly connected with such means of improving his condition.

The deposit to such benefit or assurance society should be paid quarterly, together with his rent; and in his name, and on his account be transferred for him regularly into the hands of the treasurer of such an institution. The object should be to supply him with perhaps 8s. a week during sickness, and to assure to him 6s. weekly, as an annuity, after he has attained the age of sixty-five years; with liberty to purchase the whole advantage at once, or to redeem it in portions by instalments. And I would further stipulate, that he shall deposit for *his wife* enough to secure 6s. a week in case of her sickness, and 4s. a week after she has attained her 66th year: which would act as a check on too early marriage; and when married, would secure a provision for his wife, in addition to his own.

It does not appear objectionable that the wife, in case of the husband's decease, be permitted to continue the tenancy of the half acre of land, except in the case of her marrying again to a man already in possession of a garden plot; unless she had by the former husband a family, whom she engaged to maintain with the produce of the land her former husband occupied, and then she might be permitted to retain it.

To proceed with *their children* may be only consistent with such good beginning, and I would propose that a deposit should be paid to the treasurer of the benefit society, with the name, and for the advantage of, each child when born, enough to insure the same advantage for life, which the parents have provided for themselves, without the payment of any further sum. It is not in my power, nor would I pretend to ascertain, as I am not sufficiently acquainted with the method of calculating assurances, to assert what amount precisely it would require; yet as nearly as I can discover, without the assistance of an actuary, I presume that the following statement is sufficiently correct to show, how far such scheme would subserve its own intentions.

The Commissioners for the Reduction of the National Debt allow to savings banks and friendly societies interest amounting to 3*l.* 16*s.* 0½*d.* per cent., but the interest allowed by the trustees to the depositors of endowment societies is only 3*l.* 8*s.* 5¼*d.*, that the difference may form a fund to provide for the expenses of management. At the rate of 3*l.* 8*s.* 5¼*d.* per cent., it is found that the deposits, at compound interest, accumulated half yearly, have become double after a period of twenty years. It is therefore evident, that only half the sum which is necessary to make an assurance at twenty-one years of age will be required to effect an assurance to the same amount of advantage, if deposited with the child as soon as born. On these principles my calculations will be made.

If then 8*l.* 5*s.*, deposited at twenty-one years of age, will

assure 8*s.* per week in sickness, it will be requisite to deposit only half that amount at birth, which is 4*l.* 2*s.* 6*d.*; and in that case, if the child die before it arrive at twenty-one years of age, so as not to have obtained a vested interest in the society's funds, the principal sum of 4*l.* 2*s.* 6*d.*, exclusive of the accumulated dividends, might be returned to the parent. As, however, there might be on the part of the parent some difficulty to raise so large a sum as 4*l.* 2*s.* 6*d.*, at a period too when other expenses occur, the parent may be disposed to inquire, What amount will be necessary, provided I should stipulate not to ask for the return of the principal under the contingency of the child's death? To which I would reply 2*l.* 15*s.*; because one-third of those now registered die before they reach the age of twenty-one. Now, my Lord, it appears but reasonable, that the parish should immediately inquire, What sum, if deposited now, at the birth, when the parent assures for the child 8*s.* per week in sickness after twenty-one years of age, will be sufficient to purchase 6*s.* per week as an annuity after sixty-five years of age? And the answer is 4*l.* 12*s.*; or, if it is calculated that one-third of such children will die, we may say 3*l.* 1*s.* 4*d.*, being two-thirds of the 4*l.* 12*s.*, will be enough.

This calculation is made under the supposition that the child is a male. We may therefore ask, what would be sufficient to insure 6*s.* per week for a woman in sickness after twenty-one, and 4*s.* per week after sixty-five? The answer is 6*l.* 4*s.* to secure 6*s.* in sickness, if the deposit is not paid till she has arrived at twenty-one; or the half 3*l.* 2*s.*, if paid when born; and from which one-third is to be deducted if the deposit is not to be claimed in case of death, leaving 2*l.* 1*s.* 4*d.*: and the further sum of 6*l.* 4*s.* to secure 4*s.* per week as an annuity after sixty-five; the half 3*l.* 2*s.*; and the two-thirds 2*l.* 1*s.* 4*d.*

We learn at page 15 of Mr. Rickman's "Statement of progress under the population act of 1830," that out of every 1,000 persons of the population, taking the average of the previous five years, twenty-seven baptisms occur, that is, one in

every 37 of the 1,000 persons, annually. And if we say that 14 are males, the expense to the parish would be $3l. 1s. 4d. \times 14 = 42l. 18s. 8d.$; and for the 13 females $2l. 1s. 4d. \times 13 = 26l. 17s. 4d.$, together 69*l.* 16*s.* This, however, we must recollect, includes the whole number born; and we may presume that nearly, or quite one-third, will never be required to deposit, being the children of parents who are not expected to avail themselves of such means. This will reduce the number to only 18, and if we say 9 of each sex, it will be $3l. 1s. 4d. \times 9 = 27l. 12s.$, and $2l. 1s. 4d. \times 9 = 18l. 12s.$, together 46*l.* 4*s.*

By this method it will be seen that we have thrown the expense of providing the 8*s.* per week for the boy, and the 6*s.* per week for the girl during sickness after twenty-one, upon the parent; and the provision of 6*s.* per week for the boy, and 4*s.* per week for the girl, as an annuity after 65, upon the parish. That the parent should be thus charged is not, I think, inequitable, as he is only anticipating what he would wish to do for his children, or to see them doing for themselves, when old enough; and especially as he is, by the anticipation of those payments, enabled to secure the advantage at a much smaller expense. He has too at the same time a fair opportunity of appealing to his more opulent neighbours, to exercise their feeling of charity to assist him. There may appear, however, some considerable degree of injustice in requiring the present race of occupiers of the soil, to deposit at the birth of a child a sum to assure an annuity, not to be received till the expiration of sixty-five years; for though the benefit of the plan will begin to operate immediately in some degree, yet the chief advantage will be reaped by future occupiers.

Will it not seem more correct, therefore, my Lord, that this burden should fall upon the owner, demandable perhaps of the tenant, but by law reclaimable from the proprietor? It throws into the hands of the proprietor the means of redemption of this sort of land-tax prospectively, effecting I would suggest the annihilation of the future claims of such child for parochial

relief; and by the act of the proprietor taking away the evil from the occupier, the poor, and the public, and eventually benefiting his own estate.

The expense attending the children out of a population of 1,000 persons, we have seen will be 46*l.* 4*s.* We may now endeavour to learn the expense of admitting the parent at twenty-one years of age, which is double of what has been represented as sufficient for the child, viz. 4*l.* 12*s.*, and the double 9*l.* 4*s.* At a high calculation, there are in every 1,000 of the male population about 150 persons between twenty and thirty years of age; and of these only one-third are employed in agriculture, which makes the number for our purpose only 50. If then we take the case of a village whose population is 1,000 souls, the number of males between the ages of twenty and thirty years employed in agriculture is 25. And if we further suppose the surface to comprise 3,000 acres, the expense of assuring for them 6*s.* per week, after sixty-five years of age, would be 230*l.*, or 1*s.* 6*d.* per acre; and if they *all* married, and the average age of their wives was twenty-five years, it would cost 155*l.*, or 1*s.* per acre; and if we include the expense of providing similar annuities for the children, we must add 46*l.* 4*s.*, or rather less than 4*d.* per acre.

We must not forget, too, that these sums of 1*s.* 6*d.* and 1*s.* per acre, are not annual disbursements; for the population of 1,000 souls does not produce 25 young men every year. It is only at the commencement of the adoption of the plan that such outlay could be required; the annual expense would be very small, and that only till those who are between the ages of one and twenty-one years were exhausted, the children in future being provided for at birth: the 46*l.* 4*s.*, or the 4*d.* per acre alone, would be the regular yearly burden.

To make this rule applicable to a population of 1,000 persons and a surface of 3,000 acres alone, is not my intention; but I would suggest that any gentleman may try the effect of

it in his own parish or on his own estate, by inquiring what is the number of labourers between the ages of twenty and thirty years, and then multiplying them by 9*l.* 4*s.*, to purchase an annuity of 6*s.* per week after sixty-five years of age; and multiplying the same number by 6*l.* 4*s.*, to assure their wives 4*s.* per week. This amount, divided by the acres, gives the cost it would be per acre. By a similar process he may ascertain what per acre would be the expense of providing for their children, if equal annuities were purchased at their birth.

It becomes, therefore, a matter of inquiry, whether it would not be advisable for the land-owner to meet the difficulty, if, at least, he possesses the whole of the land of the parish, by applying such system to his own estate; though it would be far preferable to procure the appointment of commissioners to carry the plan into operation universally.

We have not, however, noticed with sufficient minuteness what is the case of the young man, with regard to his method of securing for himself the 8*s.* per week during sickness, from the age of twenty-one years to sixty-five, the period when his claim for such assistance would expire, because he would begin to receive the 6*s.* as a weekly annuity. And it is, I presume, sufficiently correct, when I state that he could secure both those of 8*s.* for himself, and 6*s.* for his wife, by the monthly payment of 1*s.* 6*d.*, or 18*s.* a year, which is scarcely so much as he is now required to pay to a friendly society established on the old system of self-exhaustion.

And now, my Lord, I think we can show the advantage of the minuteness of the specification of the items of expenditure as referred to in Letter I. and as exhibited in the Appendix (B); for if we could learn from any correct data what are the chances that their wives would become widows, at what average of age, how many with families, and with what number of children, particulars ascertainable, I presume, only from the correct

return of such parochial documents, it would not be difficult for the young man, in conjunction with the proprietor, to form an assurance club for the provision of the widows until sixty-five, and of the children till they could earn their own expenses; thus making the plan, as far as it regards this portion of it, sustentary of itself.

If such institution were regularly established, and in operation, it is easy to discover what amount would be required to place in the same benefit society, other men above the age of thirty years, having a small quantity of land; and if it were difficult because the amount of the deposit would be more than they could provide, the plan recommended in the report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons on the Poor Laws in 1817 might be adopted. We find it at page 12. "Your committee are of opinion that at the outset of those institutions, parishes should be permitted to place, by contributions from the parochial funds, those who have advanced in years without having made any provision of this nature, on the footing of advantage on which they would have stood, if they had commenced the contributions at an earlier age."

There may be some persons who could not be employed with advantage by the farmers, nor be admitted into the benefit society, who might, notwithstanding, derive much advantage from the occupation of a portion of land: and others, for whose support some provision might be made, by occasional or even constant employment upon the land taken by the overseers under the 12th section of 59 Geo. 3. cap. 12. Some widows, too, might be willing to cultivate a portion of land, especially if they had boys, instead of receiving parochial relief, or with less relief. These and other means might be applied to those who were not included in the new system, to remove in some degree the burden they would otherwise occasion. To diminish the expenses of those who must be assisted

under the former regime, many expedients might be employed, all tending to hasten the dissolution of its lingering existence.

Here, however, I am disposed to desist from pursuing the details of the plan, as they appear capable of application to the mischief in a variety of ways; being contented with the efficiency of the principle. The chief objection made by the poor against the friendly society, is the obligation to which the contributor subjects himself to pay in youth for what he may not live to require; and that, too, for the purpose of saving the parish, if he should live and become impotent. Perhaps it would be a wise provision in political economy, to permit a parish to expend a part of the fund raised for relieving the poor, for the purpose of anticipating by a present small expenditure a future though remote liability to a much greater disbursement; though there are objections to it in agricultural districts. To grant leave to landed proprietors to do so, would I hope be unexceptionable. To a benevolent mind it must be most delightful and cheering, to witness the existence and operation of a scheme calculated, not speculatively but reasonably, to provide an aged couple in the decline of life with a fund they cannot alienate, and which cannot fail, of 10s. a week. It need not prevent them from earning more if they can; neither should they be deprived of the half acre of land. The labour-market, it is probable, would not be so much oppressed with numbers, and we should not see the miserable old man working on the roads, nor applying to the overseer for relief, but receiving at the office of the parochial benefit society his weekly income, an income the receipt of which should never stamp him with the disgrace of being a pauper. This is to consider him in the lowest grade; higher far might he rank among his neighbours, if he have at any time assured more for himself in the benefit society, or if he have made deposits in the savings bank. These are open to him during

any period of prosperity; yet should adversity reach him, and his hoardings in these be exhausted, he would have a comfortable provision in the annuity arising from the benefit or assurance society. There might some cases occur which would require the benefit of the society to be withheld, such as having from his own resources a certain sum in his own right, when it would not be unjust to refuse him what had been provided by the bounty of another; or if at any time he became possessed of property, some degree of discretion should be exercised by the commissioners, whether he should receive any or what amount of annuity.

That most fruitful source of litigation, too, the law of settlement, might be simplified, if this scheme were brought into operation, by rendering the place of birth and of registration in the benefit society the real settlement in the case of the male, and of the female too until marriage, when her interest might be retained in the parish where she is born, or transferred to any other to which she might remove. And it would abolish another most injurious portion of the law of settlement, namely, that gained by hiring and service.

Persuaded I shall weary your Lordship by proceeding, I beg you will

Believe me to be, &c.

P.S. An objection may be made against the allowance of 6s. for the man and 4s. for the woman, as being too liberal after sixty-five years of age. To this objection I would reply, that my chief object is to exhibit a plan; the exact amount of the allowance is of little importance, for it is very probable it ought to vary according to local circumstances. I am safe in mentioning a maximum. At the same time, when we recollect how small the present sacrifice is, when compared with the ultimate saving, to the proprietor, I would advocate with him the cause of the poor for the allowances I have calculated.

LETTER XIII.

MY LORD,

WHEN we remember that the occurrence of calamity, occasioned chiefly by sickness, is the principal cause why the agricultural labourer becomes poor, because it is a season of additional expense, frequently with less income, and sometimes of long duration; it is evident that the assurance of a weekly sum in the benefit society in case of sickness is of great value; as it usually provides enough to secure subsistence for himself and family, and preserves the integrity of his independence: while it affords the hope of a speedy recovery of his former condition when the sickness is over. The calculations of the benefit society should be made to comprise only the assurance of such sum during sickness, and should be separate from the expenses produced by the necessity for medicines and medical attendance. *Dispensaries* ought probably to form a portion of the system, to which all the poor might have recourse, whether members of the benefit society or not. A dispensary of this kind has been formed by a very benevolent and talented person, Mr. Smith, surgeon, of Southam, in Warwickshire. In some places where it has been established, considerable benefit has accrued from the diminution of poor-rate it has effected by itself alone: and is highly calculated to operate very advantageously when in conjunction with the letting of land and the formation of a benefit society. I am the more disposed to recommend Mr. Smith's plan for dispensaries, because the expense of attending the poor is so locally diversified, that we cannot expect one regular price to be fixed

for all parts of the kingdom; and that the exclusion of the charges for the medical department of the system, from the calculations for the rate of assurance, will render those calculations more correct, and less likely to be affected by the irregularity in the disbursements for the cure of sickness.

To *Workhouses* I have not yet particularly alluded. That they must be considered as expedients to reduce the expenditure, and not destruent to annihilate it, prevents them from occupying any specific place in the system I have proposed; though they are unquestionably valuable if the old regime is to continue in full force. The object of the workhouse is to cut off the application of a large number of persons for assistance; and then to provide, at as low a rate as possible, for those who must be supported. But this renders them permanently paupers, and offers an inducement to be careless, because it is known that the last alternative is the workhouse. When the workhouse is made repulsive, the poor are at first likely to suffer much inconvenience, till they can find means of subsistence without coming into it; and then they are thankful for having been compelled to look out for such means of providing for themselves. Nothing can be more truly injurious to the poor than to provide them with a plan for being dependent; and perhaps nothing more beneficial than to assist them to help themselves to escape from reliance upon others. The difficulty, however, lies with a country village, where the agricultural labouring population is excessive. In this instance, a workhouse, it might be said, would be beneficial: I grant it, but it cannot provide employment for thirty or forty labourers. If a workhouse were to be erected, they must be supported out of that workhouse, for they could not be received into it. Yet on this point I feel it is vain to attempt to come to any general opinion, till we are in possession of the return to be made to Parliament of the distinction between the expenditure for employment and for relief, for the year ending March 1832.

It must not, however, be supposed that I can indulge for one moment any feeling of dislike to the system, after having been honoured with the opportunity of having the whole plan of the workhouse at Hatfield shown to me by your Lordship. In that establishment I perceived the most judicious arrangements, well calculated to reduce the expenditure as much as possible for those persons relieved, at the same time that it rendered them more comfortable than they could possibly become out of the house. The relief being granted in kind to out-door paupers is very important. The employment for the men being calculated by the piece instead of the day; and the children having work provided for them under covert, assist materially in the attempt to reduce the expenditure. I should, however, hope to see the workhouse unneeded in agricultural districts, if the system I have already developed were adopted.

At length I have arrived at the conclusion of the plan I proposed to place before your Lordship. But before I take my leave of it, I would remark that there is, in my humble estimation of the importance of effecting an improvement in the poor laws, a point of political economy too important to be overlooked; and I cannot conceal from you my conviction of its value. It is, that a new system of poor laws forms a part only of a grand scheme of combined effort.

At the first glance it may seem preposterous to suppose that the renewal of *the Bank Charter* can have anything to do with the system of poor laws, and it may be deemed irrelevant to allude to it. Yet, I presume, that the only broad foundation of which we are now in possession for erecting any beneficial scheme for the future, is the system of the savings bank. Here we have a foundation tried, and found by experience to be of practical utility, extending itself, or capable of being extended, over the whole realm. The late panic of 1832 proves the importance of placing the savings banks in better keeping, which I am happy to find is in contemplation. But

a serious question is, Whether the savings banks can have any satisfactory security given to them without a Bank Charter? Such is the imposing character of the savings banks now, that the system should receive all that protection which will warrant the confidence of the lower orders of society. This is the more evident, when we bring the friendly societies in the kingdom into connexion with the savings banks, which connexion is gradually progressing to its completion.* But if neither the savings bank nor the friendly society is to have the guarantee of a national bank, because the profits of money loans are to be placed at the mercy of a speculative market, it seems a moral impossibility to say what degree of interest government can afford to give to the depositors of savings banks and friendly societies for the loan of their hard cash. It must certainly be very low, if government can give any security; and very high if it cannot, to induce the depositor to speculate. It is not improbable that he will be tempted by a higher rate of interest to place his money in the hands of speculators, and then all his attempts to provide by present sacrifices for a certain support in old age may be delusive. I earnestly hope we shall have an enlightened and sound Bank Charter, which will inspire the humbler classes with confidence, while attempting to secure the advantages offered by the savings bank and benefit society systems.

The controlling and regulating effect of *a system of Corn Laws*, too, seems absolutely expedient to preserve the integrity and combination of these different materials, and to render them as it were a suitable atmosphere to maintain the vitality of our national prosperity. The period put to the system of fraud formerly practised in making up the averages; the prevention of that terrific and overwhelming habit of speculation; the quiescent regularity in the price of the precious

* There are nearly 4,500 friendly societies in England and Wales, which place their funds in savings banks.

metals; the uniform reduction in the value of our own domestic productions of manufacture; the certitude of sufficient returns for the capital employed in the various modes of farming; the opportunity of employing the labourer, and the assurance of rent to the owner; all combine to solicit, perhaps I shall not be wrong in saying to demand, the warranted continuance of wholesome corn laws. What could hinder a healthful state of agriculture, if the farmer knew certainly that he might expend his capital with security, because the corn law guaranteed to him its own protection uninterruptedly? If there be supposed to exist any question of the value of such system, it will be necessary to inquire into the quantity of corn grown upon the continent, and the price it obtains there, in comparison with the quantity and price at home; and it must be conspicuous that no more is grown than is generally required to meet the consumption. The grand question is not, therefore, whether there should be a corn law, but, what should be the scale of prices which is to regulate the duty. If the duty be removed too soon, as is more than probably the case with the present scale, it follows of necessity that the value of the precious metals is enhanced, and the country suffers in a double ratio, first, by the exportation of bullion in exchange for corn, and secondly, by a higher rate of exchange; both operating too as a check to the consumption of our own manufactures. It is undoubtedly a question of serious importance, whether the country has yet recovered the effect produced four years ago, by an occasion of this nature. Agriculture is still quailing under the remembrance of it; and the farmer is so timid in his expenditure, that our land does not produce more perhaps than seven or at most eight-tenths of what it would, if the farmer, the manufacturer, the tradesman, the mechanic, the labourer, and the landed proprietor, could behold each other without jealousy; because their respective interests were secured by a judicious system of domestic economy.

I have alluded to *the manufacturer*; for the price of bullion

and the price of corn will affect the foreign demand for our manufactures in our nearest market, the continent of Europe. To regulate that demand, by lowering the price of the commodity to the extent of maintaining that demand in full vigour, forms one of the principal features in political economy. Import, export, excise, customs, all feel the impulse. How superlatively important is it then to have all these means under control! If the rate of interest be too high or too low, it may be in some measure regulated, when the government have a due influence over the national bank; if the corn laws are admitting too freely, or restricting too rigidly the importation of grain, it is easily capable of adjustment; if the manufactures are too languid, the value of the precious metals should be investigated. But if the present system of the poor laws in their numerous enactments be permitted to continue unaltered, the measures adopted to restore the equipoise, when disturbed, must be remedial, because they are not preventive. Two parts of the system are upon the whole working well, I mean the savings banks and the corn laws, and the effect of these is seen to operate favourably upon our manufactures. The poor laws now require revision, and, as far as I have been able to discover, are capable of being adjusted, to form, in combination, a most skilful project for a prosperous political economy.

I most earnestly beg your Lordship to forgive the great demand I have made upon your time and patience in perusing my statements. The only apology I have to offer arises from the importance of the subject, which you have always duly appreciated; and the urbanity of your manner, which has encouraged me to proceed. But before I take final leave of the subject, I would observe, that we may hope to be honoured shortly with the result of the investigation, instituted in consequence of His most gracious Majesty's commission. When the commissioners make their report, we shall, I ardently

hope and expect, be presented with a mass of most valuable intelligence, and have promulged to us some efficient plan for improving the system in all its branches: when we shall discover how far any suggestions I have made will be found correct and worthy of adoption.

The apprehension expressed in the instructions to assistant commissioners, that the poor-rate is likely, because of its regular progression, to consume the landed interest, has led me to make the following calculations:—

	1801.	1811.	1821.	1831.
Population .	8,872,980	10,163,676	11,978,875	13,894,574
Rates . . .	£ 4,077,891	£ 6,656,106	£ 6,358,709	£ 6,798,888
Per head .	.454=9s. 2¼d.	.655=13s. 1d.	.535=10s. 8½d.	.489=9s. 9½d.

The average expenditure for the nineteen years ending March 1830, has been 6,471,888*l.*, and for the year ending March 1831, 6,798,888*l.*, forming a difference of 327,000*l.*; while the population had increased from 10,163,676 to 13,894,574, forming a difference of 3,730,898. It is evident, therefore, that the country has not augmented her expenditure so rapidly as she has multiplied her population, but that she has diminished her expenses, relatively per head of the population, exactly one-fourth, as 9s. 9½*d.* is only three-fourths of the 13s. 1*d.*, while at the same time the price of wheat for the year 1831, was much the same as the average of the nineteen preceding years. And if we view the subject in connexion with the population alone, these calculations will tend to allay our fears: but when we recollect that the surface of our country is not elastic, and cannot be made to expand with the increase of the number of its inhabitants; and that eighty years since the rates were only 5*d.* per acre; thirty years ago 2s. 4½*d.*; but in 1829 that they had augmented to 3s. 9*d.* per acre, on the area of all England, excluding Wales, we must unite with the commissioners in expressions of alarm. Our apprehension will, however, be greatly moderated, on discovering that for

twenty years the average amount of the rate per acre has been very even, although the population has increased $36\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.

Just at the present juncture, when the effect of the Corn Law can be ascertained correctly; when consideration must be given to the Bank Charter; when the Commissioners for the Reduction of the National Debt must be shielded against the effects of a sudden withdrawal of any very large amount of cash by the depositors in savings banks; when the advantage of a system of deferred annuities on a reduced scale may be discussed; when it is not decided whether poor laws shall be provided for Ireland; when the labouring poor are so wickedly instructed to be dissatisfied with their condition; when the interests of agriculture are possibly below par; no subject of domestic economy will be more worthy the deliberation of Parliament during the session, than an improvement in the Poor Laws.

Hoping that my attempt to draw your Lordship's attention more closely to the subject, will not, therefore, be deemed unseasonable,

I have the honour to be,

My Lord,

Very faithfully,

Your Lordship's

Most obedient and very humble servant,

CHARLES WETHERELL.

*Byfield Rectory,
5th March, 1833.*

POSTSCRIPT.

AFTER I had finished my last letter I received the “ Abstract of returns of the amount of money levied and expended for the relief of the poor in each county in England and Wales, in the year ending 25th of March 1832.” I am much gratified at the opportunity of placing it before your Lordship, because it contains the separation of the money paid out of the rates for labour, from the sum paid for relief in general, and the number of persons to whom it was paid; first, for repair of roads, and secondly, for other parish work; to the importance of requiring which returns, I begged in my evidence to call the attention of the Committee.

I have made the same selection of counties as Mr. Slaney did, and have united both classes of persons together, and both amounts of expenditure; and then, after summing them up, have shown what is the expense per head.

The Northern counties:

	Persons.	Amount.		Per Head.		
		£.	s.	£.	s.	d.
York, E.	497 . . .	2,452	13			
Do. N.	752 . . .	3,172	5			
Do. W.	1,217 . . .	5,481	8			
Lincoln	5,204 . . .	7,683	1			
Westmorland . . .	38 . . .	128	6			
Cumberland . . .	51 . . .	234	16			
Northumberland .	197 . . .	1,312	13			
Durham	550 . . .	2,280	1			
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	8,506	22,705	3	2	13	4¼

The Southern counties :

		Persons.	Amount.		Per Head.		
			£.	s.	£.	s.	d.
Kent	4,306	. . .	26,296	12		
Sussex	. . . . .	5,784	. . .	41,324	5	7	2 10½*
Surrey.	. . . . .	2,789	. . .	20,341	0		
Oxford	. . . . .	3,270	. . .	16,339	1		
Wilts	. . . . .	2,257	. . .	12,489	3		
Berks	. . . . .	1,851	. . .	9,999	19		
Norfolk	. . . . .	3,310	. . .	18,710	9		
Dorset.	. . . . .	799	. . .	4,764	4		
		<hr/>		<hr/>			
		24,366		150,264	13	6	3 0

The difference exhibited is so striking, first, in the numbers, but particularly in the amount, as to convince us that it is not the misapplication of a scale of wages or relief, but the actual want of employment for the population: for in Sussex the 5,784 persons cost *2s. 9d.* each per week for the whole year, or as much as would be required for their absolute maintenance. In Surrey the persons cost more per head than in Sussex.

I have added other agricultural counties, to prove the value of providing work if it were possible under shelter, because it is in these counties the burden is most oppressive.

Other agricultural counties :

		Persons.	Amount.		Per Head.		
			£.	s.	£.	s.	d.
Bedford	. . . . .	2,697	. . .	11,597	13		
Buckingham.	. . . . .	3,258	. . .	15,623	4		
Cambridge	. . . . .	2,071	. . .	11,254	8		
Essex	. . . . .	3,686	. . .	15,328	0		
Hertford	. . . . .	1,771	. . .	10,862	4		
Northampton	. . . . .	3,024	. . .	12,447	8		
Suffolk	. . . . .	3,035	. . .	18,708	14		
Southampton	. . . . .	3,544	. . .	17,266	18		
		<hr/>		<hr/>			
		23,086		113,088	9	4	18 0

* Or *2s. 9d.* per head for fifty-two weeks.

The manufacturing counties I have not omitted, that we may arrive with more complete conviction at the same conclusion, for there the work is done principally under shelter.

Manufacturing counties :

		Persons.		Amount.		Per Head.		
				£.	s.	£.	s.	d.
Chester	. . . .	808	. . .	3,136	8			
Derby	. . . .	688	. . .	3,942	14			
Lancaster.	. . . .	1,125	. . .	5,153	0			
Leicester	. . . .	1,128	. . .	4,915	12			
Nottingham	. . . .	587	. . .	2,053	7	3	10	2¼*
Stafford	. . . .	409	. . .	1,798	17			
Warwick	. . . .	581	. . .	2,867	8			
York, W.	. . . .	1,217	. . .	5,481	8			
		<hr/>		<hr/>				
		6,543		29,348	14	4	9	8½

Yet after all we are but little advantaged by the prominent exhibition of this item in the return, because it accounts for only about one-twentieth part of the whole expenditure. Out of every 20*l.*: for what have the other nineteen been spent? Our inability to make a correct reply rather strengthens the arguments I have used, in support of the importance of endeavouring to disentangle the remainder more entirely.

If the return be correctly made from all places, which I am reluctant to suspect, it will exhibit what necessity there will be for encouraging emigration, and to what extent. But before this point can be perfectly cleared up, we must wait for the abstract of answers and returns under the Population Act, 11 Geo. 4. c. 30, article “Enumeration,” where we shall learn the “number of labourers employed in agriculture” in each parish; and also, for what I hope we shall soon be favoured with, not the abstract only of the poor-rates for the year 1831-2, but the actual return from each place in all the counties of England, or at least of the burdened counties, for until

* Or 1*s.* 4*d.* per head for fifty-two weeks.

it is known over what towns or villages the burden broods, we cannot learn whether emigration is the specific remedy, or whether it can be so applied by any legal enactment.

By adding the remaining counties, your Lordship will have a view of the whole of England.

Remaining counties :

				Persons.		Amount.		Per Head.		
						£.	s.	£.	s.	d.
Cornwall	554	. . .				3,163	19			
Devon	1,028	. . .				4,471	17			
Gloucester	1,304	. . .				6,893	6			
Hereford	163	. . .				757	4			
Huntingdon	913	. . .				2,142	7			
Middlesex	1,750	. . .				13,281	11			
Monmouth	65	. . .				283	6			
Rutland	189	. . .				914	15			
Salop	168	. . .				909	10			
Somerset	1,389	. . .				5,003	2			
Worcester	288	. . .				835	17			
Total of England				69,095	. . .	349,722	15	5	1	1
All Wales				1,240	. . .	3,630	0	2	11	1½

A P P E N D I X.

(A.)

Form of obtaining Poor Returns.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Mercurij, 3^o die Novembris, 1830.

ORDERED,

THAT the Churchwardens and Overseers of the Poor, of every Parish, Township, or other Place, in *England* and *Wales*, do prepare—AN ACCOUNT, showing the Total Amount of MONEY levied for Poor Rates and County Rates, in the Year ending on 25th *March* 1830, upon such Parish, Township, or other Place maintaining its own Poor,—and also, the Total Amount of MONEY expended in that Year; distinguishing in the said Account, the Amount of Money paid for any other purpose than the Relief of the Poor;—and that such Churchwardens and Overseers do, as soon as may be, transmit such Account to the CLERK of the HOUSE OF COMMONS; stating in addition to such Account, whether any Select Vestry has been formed, or an Assistant Overseer appointed, by virtue of the Act 59 Geo. III. c. 12;—and any other Observations which may be thought necessary.

J. H. LEY,

Cl. Dom. Com.

To the Churchwardens or Overseers :

BE pleased to *turn over*, and write on the two next pages, the Name of the *County* and *Place*, and your Answer, as required by the above Order, and then return this Sheet by the Post; a direction being printed at the back of it for that purpose.

☞ THE TOTALS of the Poor Rate Accounts annually exhibited to the Magistrates within fourteen days after the appointment of the new Parish Officers (under the Acts 43 Eliz. c. 2; and 50 Geo. III. c. 49,) will enable the present Parish Officers to answer the above Questions.

County of

Hundred
or
Wapentake } of

ACCOUNT IN OBEDIENCE TO THE

P O O R R A T E S.	
Total Amount of MONEY Levied	
Total Amount of MONEY Expended	
Deduct—Amount of MONEY paid for any Purpose or Purposes other than the Relief of the Poor . . }	. .
Expended for the Relief of the Poor	£.

Observations, if any.

Signed *this* day of 1830,
[Name of usual Post-Office Town.]
at near } *by us*

Parish of

Township }
or } of
Tything }

ORDER OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.

For the Year ending 25 March 1830.			QUESTIONS.
£.	s.	d.	1.—Has any SELECT VESTRY been formed by virtue of the Act 59 Geo. III. c. 12?
			2.—Has an ASSISTANT OVERSEER been appointed by virtue of the Act 59 Geo. III. c. 12?

[The Parish Officers to sign here.]

POOR RETURNS.

To

The Clerk of

The House of Commons,

LONDON.

FREE.

F. Freeling.

(B.)

The Mode of keeping Parish Accounts,

Referred to at page 7.

1st. The pages numbered vi to xvii contain the *Regular Expenditure*, as it arises weekly. These accounts are arranged under various heads, as “Widows,” “Widows with Children,” &c. &c. and they exhibit the weekly, quarterly, half-yearly, and annual expense incurred by each person relieved, and of the whole number of persons under each separate head: pages vi to xi being the accounts for the first half of the year, and pages xii to xvii the accounts for the second half of the year; the whole being conducted by double entry.

2ndly. At pages xviii and xix the *Irregular Expenditure*, as it arises accidentally, is seen. These accounts are arranged under different heads, as “Apprentices,” “Funerals,” “County Rate,” “Incidental Expenses,” &c. &c. They exhibit the totals of each, and of the whole; likewise by double entry; and comprise, with the former accounts, the entire Expenditure.

3rdly. Pages xx and xxi contain the *Receipts*, arranged similarly with the Irregular Expenditure.

4thly. At pages xxii and xxiii are seen *the Annual Account of Expenditure and Receipts*, as it ought to be presented before the Magistrates for their approbation and allowance, after the close of the year.*

These accounts are not to be considered in any other light than as exhibitory of a method which might possibly be adopted; and are intended merely to suggest a system, and not to exemplify any particular parish.

* For the form for obtaining Returns to Parliament annually of the totals of these accounts, see Appendix (C.)

1831.		Mar.		April.				May.				June.			First Quarter.
Description and Name.		26.	2.	9.	16.	23.	30.	7.	14.	21.	28.	4.	11.	18.	
<i>Widows.</i>		<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>	£. s. d.
Douglas		2 0	2 0	2 0	2 0	2 0	2 0	2 0	2 0	2 0	3 0	3 0	3 0	2 0	1 9 0
Maud		3 0	3 0	3 0	3 0	3 0	3 0	3 0	3 0	3 0	3 0	3 0	dead	....	1 13 0
Bloxham.....		.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1 6	1 6	1 6	1 6	1 6	1 6	0 9 0
		5 0	5 0	5 0	5 0	5 0	5 0	5 0	6 6	6 6	7 6	7 6	4 6	3 6	3 11 0
<i>Widows with Children.</i>															
French	2	6 0	6 0	6 0	6 0	6 0	6 0	6 0	6 0	6 0	6 0	6 0	6 0	6 0	3 18 0
Allen.....	4	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	8 0	8 0	8 0	8 0	8 0	2 0 0
	
		6 0	6 0	6 0	6 0	6 0	6 0	6 0	6 0	14 0	14 0	14 0	14 0	14 0	5 18 0
<i>Single Women.</i>															
Kate Birt		2 6	2 6	2 6	2 6	2 6	2 6	2 6	2 6	2 6	2 6	2 6	2 6	2 6	1 12 6
Hannah Dodd		2 0	2 0	2 0	2 0	2 0	2 0	2 0	2 0	2 0	2 0	2 0	2 0	2 0	1 6 0
		4 6	4 6	4 6	4 6	4 6	4 6	4 6	4 6	4 6	4 6	4 6	4 6	4 6	2 18 6
<i>Widowers.</i>															
Henry Wimbush...		3 6	3 6	3 6	3 6	3 6	3 6	3 6	3 6	3 6	3 6	3 6	3 6	3 6	2 5 6
Thomas Newberry		1 0	1 0	1 0	1 0	1 0	1 0	1 0	1 0	1 0	1 0	1 0	1 0	1 0	0 13 0
		4 6	4 6	4 6	4 6	4 6	4 6	4 6	4 6	4 6	4 6	4 6	4 6	4 6	2 18 6
<i>Widowers with Children.</i>															
William Brown	3	4 0	4 0	4 0	4 0	4 0	4 0	4 0	4 0	4 0	4 0	4 0	4 0	4 0	2 12 0
Charles Sewell.....	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
		4 0	4 0	4 0	4 0	4 0	4 0	4 0	4 0	4 0	4 0	4 0	4 0	4 0	2 12 0
<i>Old Married Men.</i>															
Daniel Stanton		4 0	4 0	4 0	4 0	4 0	4 0	4 0	4 0	4 0	4 0	4 0	4 0	4 0	2 12 0
John Cadd		5 0	5 0	5 0	5 0	5 0	5 0	5 0	5 0	5 0	5 0	5 0	5 0	5 0	3 5 0
		9 0	9 0	9 0	9 0	9 0	9 0	9 0	9 0	9 0	9 0	9 0	9 0	9 0	5 17 0
<i>Old Married Men with Children.</i>															
George Jeffs.....	4	7 0	7 0	7 0	7 0	7 0	7 0	7 0	7 0	7 0	7 0	7 0	7 0	7 0	4 11 0
Carried forward		40 0	40 0	40 0	40 0	40 0	40 0	40 0	41 6	49 6	50 6	50 6	47 6	46 6	28 6 0

June.		July.				August.				September.				Second Quarter.	First Half.
25.	2.	9.	16.	23.	30.	6.	13.	20.	27.	3.	10.	17.	24.		
s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.
2 0	2 0	2 0	2 0	2 0	2 0	2 0	2 0	2 0	3 0	3 0	3 0	3 0	3 0	1 13 0	3 2 0
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1 13 0
1 6	1 6	1 6	1 6	1 6	1 6	1 6	1 6	1 6	1 6	1 6	1 6	1 6	1 6	1 1 0	1 10 0
3 6	3 6	3 6	3 6	3 6	3 6	3 6	3 6	3 6	4 6	4 6	4 6	4 6	4 6	2 14 0	6 5 0
6 0	6 0	6 0	6 0	6 0	6 0	6 0	6 0	6 0	6 0	6 0	6 0	6 0	6 0	4 4 0	8 2 0
8 0	8 0	8 0	8 0	8 0	8 0	8 0	8 0	8 0	8 0	8 0	8 0	8 0	8 0	5 12 0	7 12 0
.....
14 0	14 0	14 0	14 0	14 0	14 0	14 0	14 0	14 0	14 0	14 0	14 0	14 0	14 0	9 16 0	15 14 0
2 6	2 6	2 6	2 6	2 6	2 6	2 6	2 6	2 6	2 6	2 6	2 6	2 6	2 6	1 15 0	3 7 6
2 0	2 0	2 0	2 0	2 0	2 0	2 0	2 0	2 0	2 0	2 0	2 0	2 0	2 0	1 8 0	2 14 0
4 6	4 6	4 6	4 6	4 6	4 6	4 6	4 6	4 6	4 6	4 6	4 6	4 6	4 6	3 3 0	6 1 6
3 6	3 6	3 6	3 6	3 6	3 6	3 6	3 6	3 6	3 6	3 6	3 6	3 6	3 6	2 9 0	4 14 6
1 0	1 0	1 0	1 0	1 0	1 0	1 0	1 0	1 0	1 0	1 0	1 0	1 0	1 0	0 14 0	1 7 0
4 6	4 6	4 6	4 6	4 6	4 6	4 6	4 6	4 6	4 6	4 6	4 6	4 6	4 6	3 3 0	6 1 6
4 0	4 0	4 0	4 0	4 0	4 0	4 0	4 0	4 0	4 0	4 0	4 0	4 0	4 0	2 16 0	5 8 0
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	3 0	3 0	3 0	3 0	3 0	3 0	3 0	1 1 0	1 1 0
4 0	4 0	4 0	4 0	4 0	4 0	4 0	7 0	7 0	7 0	7 0	7 0	7 0	7 0	3 17 0	6 9 0
4 0	4 0	4 0	4 0	4 0	4 0	4 0	4 0	4 0	4 0	4 0	4 0	4 0	4 0	2 16 0	5 8 0
5 0	5 0	5 0	5 0	5 0	5 0	5 0	5 0	5 0	5 0	5 0	5 0	5 0	5 0	3 10 0	6 15 0
9 0	9 0	9 0	9 0	9 0	9 0	9 0	9 0	9 0	9 0	9 0	9 0	9 0	9 0	6 6 0	12 3 0
7 0	7 0	7 0	7 0	7 0	7 0	7 0	7 0	7 0	7 0	7 0	7 0	7 0	7 0	4 18 0	9 9 0
46 6	46 6	46 6	46 6	46 6	46 6	46 6	49 6	49 6	50 6	50 6	50 6	50 6	50 6	33 17 0	62 3 0
													*		

* This quarter contains fourteen weeks.

1831.		Mar.		April.				May.				June.			First Quarter.		
Description and Name.		26.	2.	9.	16.	23.	30.	7.	14.	21.	28.	4.	11.	18.	First Quarter.		
		s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	£.	s.	d.
Brought forward		40 0	40 0	40 0	40 0	40 0	40 0	40 0	41 6	49 6	50 6	50 6	47 6	46 6	28	6	0
Single Men.																	
John Read		2 6	2 6	2 6	2 6	2 6	2 6	2 6	2 6	2 6	2 6	2 6	2 6	2 6	1	12	6
Children.																	
Bonham's		2	4 0	4 0	4 0	4 0	4 0	4 0	4 0	4 0	4 0	4 0	4 0	4 0	2	12	0
Whorley's		2	5 6	5 6	5 6	5 6	5 6	5 6	5 6	5 6	5 6	5 6	5 6	5 6	3	11	6
			9 6	9 6	9 6	9 6	9 6	9 6	9 6	9 6	9 6	9 6	9 6	9 6	6	3	6
Boys.																	
Ludgate's		1	1 0	1 0	1 0	1 0	1 0	1 0	1 0	1 0	1 0	1 0	1 0	1 0	0	13	0
Carvil's		1	1 3	1 3	1 3	1 3	1 3	1 3	1 3	1 3	1 3	1 3	1 3	1 3	0	16	3
			2 3	2 3	2 3	2 3	2 3	2 3	2 3	2 3	2 3	2 3	2 3	2 3	1	9	3
Sick List.																	
Dan. Gubbins		5 0	5 0	5 0	5 0	dead									1	0	0
Samuel Lawrence		6 0	6 0	6 0	6 0	6 0	6 0	6 0	5 0	3 0	2 0	recovered			2	12	0
William Howes		3 0	3 0	3 0	3 0	3 0	3 0	3 0	3 0	3 0	3 0	3 0	3 0	3 0	1	19	0
Esther Watson								4 0	4 0	4 0	4 0	4 0	4 0	4 0	1	8	0
		14 0	14 0	14 0	14 0	9 0	9 0	13 0	12 0	10 0	9 0	7 0	7 0	7 0	6	19	0
Nurses.																	
John Jeffs		1 6	1 6	1 6	1 6	1 6	1 6	1 6	1 6	1 6	1 6	1 6	1 6	1 6	0	19	6
Mary Hiorns						1 0	1 0	1 0	1 0	1 0	1 0	1 0	1 0	1 0	0	9	0
Widow Maud																	
		1 6	1 6	1 6	1 6	2 6	2 6	2 6	2 6	2 6	2 6	2 6	2 6	2 6	1	8	6
Casual Relief.																	
Thomas Lockett					6 0							4 0			0	10	0
Carried forward					6 0							4 0			0	10	0
Amounts carried forward		69 9	69 9	69 9	69 9	65 9	65 9	69 9	70 3	76 3	76 3	74 3	71 3	70 3	45	18	9

Dec. 1832.					January.					February.					March.					Fourth Quarter.			Second Half.			First Half.			The whole Year.		
31.	7.	14.	21.	28.	4.	11.	18.	25.	3.	10.	17.	24.																			
s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.							
4 0	4 0	4 0	4 0	dead	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	0	16	0	2	9	0	3	2	0	5	11	0
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	13	0	1	13	0
1 6	1 6	1 6	1 6	1 6	1 6	1 6	1 6	1 6	1 6	1 6	1 6	1 6	0	19	6	1	19	0	1	10	0	3	9	0							
5 6	5 6	5 6	5 6	1 6	1 6	1 6	1 6	1 6	1 6	1 6	1 6	1 6	1	15	6	4	8	0	6	5	0	10	13	0							
6 0	6 0	6 0	6 0	6 0	6 0	6 0	6 0	6 0	6 0	6 0	6 0	6 0	3	18	0	7	16	0	8	2	0	15	18	0							
8 0	8 0	8 0	8 0	8 0	8 0	6 0	6 0	6 0	6 0	6 0	6 0	6 0	4	10	0	9	14	0	7	12	0	17	6	0							
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	3 6	3 6	3 6	3 6	3 6	0	17	6	0	17	6	.....	.....	.....	0	17	6
14 0	14 0	14 0	14 0	14 0	14 0	12 0	12 0	15 6	15 6	15 6	15 6	15 6	9	5	6	18	7	6	15	14	0	34	1	6							
2 6	2 6	2 6	2 6	2 6	2 6	2 6	2 6	2 6	2 6	2 6	2 6	2 6	1	12	6	3	5	0	3	7	6	6	12	6							
2 0	2 0	2 0	2 0	2 0	2 0	2 0	2 0	2 0	2 0	2 0	2 0	2 0	1	6	0	2	12	0	2	14	0	5	6	0							
4 6	4 6	4 6	4 6	4 6	4 6	4 6	4 6	4 6	4 6	4 6	4 6	4 6	2	18	6	5	17	0	6	1	6	11	18	6							
3 6	3 6	3 6	3 6	3 6	3 6	3 6	3 6	3 6	3 6	3 6	3 6	3 6	2	5	6	4	11	0	4	14	6	9	5	6							
1 0	1 0	1 0	1 0	1 0	1 0	1 0	1 0	1 0	1 0	1 0	1 0	1 0	0	13	0	1	6	0	1	7	0	2	13	0							
4 6	4 6	4 6	4 6	4 6	4 6	4 6	4 6	4 6	4 6	4 6	4 6	4 6	2	18	6	5	17	0	6	1	6	11	18	6							
4 0	4 0	4 0	4 0	4 0	4 0	4 0	4 0	4 0	4 0	4 0	4 0	4 0	2	12	0	5	4	0	5	8	0	10	12	0							
3 0	3 0	3 0	3 0	3 0	3 0	3 0	3 0	3 0	3 0	3 0	3 0	3 0	1	19	0	3	18	0	1	1	0	4	19	0							
7 0	7 0	7 0	7 0	7 0	7 0	7 0	7 0	7 0	7 0	7 0	7 0	7 0	4	11	0	9	2	0	6	9	0	15	11	0							
4 0	4 0	4 0	4 0	4 0	4 0	4 0	4 0	4 0	4 0	4 0	4 0	4 0	2	12	0	5	4	0	5	8	0	10	12	0							
5 0	5 0	5 0	5 0	5 0	5 0	5 0	5 0	5 0	5 0	5 0	5 0	5 0	3	5	0	6	10	0	6	15	0	13	5	0							
9 0	9 0	9 0	9 0	9 0	9 0	9 0	9 0	9 0	9 0	9 0	9 0	9 0	5	17	0	11	14	0	12	3	0	23	17	0							
7 0	7 0	7 0	7 0	7 0	7 0	7 0	7 0	7 0	7 0	7 0	7 0	7 0	4	11	0	9	2	0	9	9	0	18	11	0							
51 6	51 6	51 6	51 6	47 6	47 6	45 6	45 6	49 0	49 0	49 0	49 0	49 0	31	17	0	64	7	6	62	3	0	126	10	6							

1831.		October.					November.				December.				Third Quarter.
Description and Name.		1.	8.	15.	22.	29.	5.	12.	19.	26.	3.	10.	17.	24.	
		s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	
Brought forward		50 6	50 6	50 6	49 6	49 6	49 6	49 6	49 6	49 6	50 6	50 6	50 6	50 6	32 10 6
Single Men.															
John Read		2 6	2 6	2 6	2 6	2 6	2 6	2 6	2 6	2 6	2 6	2 6	2 6	2 6	1 12 6
Children.															
Bonham's		2	4 0	4 0	4 0	4 0	4 0	4 0	4 0	4 0	4 0	4 0	4 0	4 0	2 12 0
Whorley's		2	5 6	5 6	5 6	5 6	5 6	5 6	5 6	5 6	5 6	5 6	5 6	5 6	3 11 6
			9 6	9 6	9 6	9 6	9 6	9 6	9 6	9 6	9 6	9 6	9 6	9 6	6 3 6
Boys.															
Ludgate's		1	1 0	1 0	1 0	1 0	1 0	1 0	1 0	1 0	1 0	1 0	1 0	1 0	0 13 0
Carvil's		1	1 3	1 3	1 3	1 3	1 3	1 3	1 3	1 3	1 3	1 3	1 3	1 3	0 16 3
			2 3	2 3	2 3	2 3	2 3	2 3	2 3	2 3	2 3	2 3	2 3	2 3	1 9 3
Sick List.															
Dan. Gubbins															
Samuel Lawrence															
William Howes			3 0	3 0	3 0	3 0	3 0	3 0	3 0	2 0	2 0	2 0	2 0	2 0	1 14 0
Esther Watson			4 0	4 0	4 0	4 0	4 0	4 0	4 0	3 0	3 0	3 0	2 0	2 0	2 5 0
Walter Wright										3 6	3 6	3 6	3 6	3 6	0 17 6
Mark Whitmill															
			7 0	7 0	7 0	7 0	7 0	7 0	7 0	8 6	8 6	8 6	7 6	7 6	4 16 6
Nurses.															
John Jeffs															
Mary Hiorns															
Widow Maud			1 3	1 3	1 3	1 3	1 3	1 3	1 3	1 3	1 3	1 3	1 3	1 3	0 16 3
Martha Beesley															
			1 3	1 3	1 3	1 3	1 3	1 3	1 3	1 3	1 3	1 3	1 3	1 3	0 16 3
Casual Relief.															
Thomas Luckett															
Carried forward															
Amounts carried forward		73 0	73 0	73 0	72 0	72 0	72 0	72 0	72 0	73 6	74 6	74 6	73 6	73 6	47 8 6

REGULAR EXPENDITURE—*Fourth Quarter, continued.*

xv

Dec. 1832. January.					February.				March.				Fourth Quarter.	Second Half.	First Half.	The whole Year.
31.	7.	14.	21.	28.	4.	11.	18.	25.	3.	10.	17.	24.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.
s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.
51 6	51 6	51 6	51 6	47 6	47 6	45 6	45 6	49 0	49 0	49 0	49 0	49 0	31 17 0	64 7 6	62 3 0	126 10 6
2 6	2 6	2 6	2 6	2 6	2 6	2 6	2 6	2 6	2 6	2 6	2 6	2 6	1 12 6	3 5 0	3 7 6	6 12 6
4 0	4 0	4 0	4 0	4 0	4 0	4 0	4 0	4 0	4 0	4 0	4 0	4 0	2 12 0	5 4 0	5 8 0	10 12 0
5 6	5 6	5 6	5 6	5 6	5 6	5 6	5 6	5 6	5 6	5 6	5 6	5 6	3 11 6	7 3 0	7 8 6	14 11 6
9 6	9 6	9 6	9 6	9 6	9 6	9 6	9 6	9 6	9 6	9 6	9 6	9 6	6 3 6	12 7 0	12 16 6	25 3 6
1 0	1 0	1 0	1 0	1 0	1 0	1 0	1 0	1 0	1 0	1 0	1 0	1 0	0 13 0	1 6 0	1 7 0	2 13 0
1 3	1 3	1 3	1 3	1 3	1 3	1 3	1 3	1 3	1 3	1 3	1 3	1 3	0 16 3	1 12 6	1 13 9	3 6 3
2 3	2 3	2 3	2 3	2 3	2 3	2 3	2 3	2 3	2 3	2 3	2 3	2 3	1 9 3	2 18 6	3 0 9	5 19 3
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1 0 0	1 0 0
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	2 12 0	2 12 0
2 0	1 0	1 0	recovered	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	0 4 0	1 18 0	4 1 0	5 19 0
3 0	3 0	3 0	4 0	4 0	4 0	4 0	6 0	6 0	dead	.....	.....	.....	1 17 0	4 2 0	4 4 0	8 6 0
3 6	3 6	3 6	3 6	3 6	3 6	3 6	3 6	3 6	3 6	3 6	3 6	3 6	2 5 6	3 3 0	.....	3 3 0
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	5 0	5 0	5 0	5 0	5 0	5 0	1 10 0	1 10 0	.....	1 10 0
8 6	7 6	7 6	7 6	7 6	7 6	7 6	14 6	14 6	8 6	8 6	8 6	8 6	5 16 6	10 13 0	11 17 0	22 10 0
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	2 0 6	2 0 6
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1 3 0	1 3 0
1 3	1 3	1 3	1 3	1 3	1 3	1 3	1 3	1 3	1 3	1 3	1 3	1 3	0 16 3	1 12 6	0 11 3	2 3 9
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1 6	1 6	1 6	1 6	1 6	1 6	0 7 6	0 7 6	.....	0 7 6
.....
1 3	1 3	1 3	1 3	1 3	1 3	1 3	1 3	2 9	2 9	2 9	2 9	2 9	1 3 9	2 0 0	3 14 9	5 14 9
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	0 15 0	0 15 0
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	0 15 0	0 15 0
5 6	74 6	74 6	74 6	70 6	70 6	68 6	75 6	80 6	74 6	74 6	74 6	74 6	48 2 6	95 11 0	96 19 6	192 10 6

1831.		October.					November.				December.				Third Quarter.	
Description and Name.		1.	8.	15.	22.	29.	5.	12.	19.	26.	3.	10.	17.	24.	Third Quarter.	
		s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	£.	s. d.
Amounts brought forward		73 0	73 0	73 0	72 0	72 0	72 0	72 0	72 0	73 6	74 6	74 6	73 6	73 6	47	8 6
<i>Casual Relief.</i>																
Brought forward																
Robert Turner																
Roddis's Wife																
John Ward					4 0	4 0	4 0	4 0	4 0						1	0 0
Edward Eyles											12 0				0	12 0
					4 0	4 0	4 0	4 0	4 0		12 0				1	12 0
<i>Head Money.</i>																
T. Ludgate				3 0	3 0	3 0	3 0	3 0	3 0	3 0	3 0	3 0	3 0	3 0	1	13 0
W. Tomalin				2 0	2 0	2 0	2 0	2 0	2 0	2 0	2 0	2 0	2 0	2 0	1	2 0
J. Pollard				2 0	2 0	2 0	2 0	2 0	2 0	2 0	2 0	2 0	2 0	2 0	1	2 0
W. Hughes				1 0	1 0	1 0	1 0	1 0	1 0	1 0	1 0	1 0	1 0	1 0	0	11 0
S. Hartwell									2 0	2 0	2 0	2 0	2 0	2 0	0	12 0
				8 0	8 0	8 0	8 0	8 0	10 0	10 0	10 0	10 0	10 0	10 0	5	0 0
<i>Employment.</i>																
J. Marlow					8 0	8 0	8 0	8 0	8 0	8 0	8 0	8 0	8 0	8 0	4	0 0
J. Turner				6 0	6 0	6 0	6 0	6 0	6 0	6 0	6 0	6 0	6 0	6 0	3	6 0
J. Price							2 0		1 0	2 0		4 0	4 0	4 0	0	17 0
J. Bush, jun.						8 0	8 0	8 0	8 0	8 0	8 0	8 0	8 0	8 0	3	12 0
T. Ludgate		9 0	9 0	9 0	9 0	9 0	9 0	9 0	9 0	9 0	9 0	9 0	9 0	9 0	5	17 0
Thomas Allen								5 0	5 0	5 0	5 0	5 0	5 0	5 0	1	15 0
John Cox											1 0	4 0	4 0	4 0	0	13 0
Charles Mott																
George Butlin																
		9 0	9 0	15 0	23 0	31 0	33 0	36 0	37 0	38 0	37 0	44 0	44 0	44 0	20	0 0
		82 0	82 0	96 0	107 0	115 0	117 0	120 0	123 0	121 6	133 6	128 6	127 6	127 6	74	0 6

June.		July.				August.				September.				Second Quarter.	First Half.		
25.	2.	9.	16.	23.	30.	6.	13.	20.	27.	3.	10.	17.	24.				
s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.		
46 6	46 6	46 6	46 6	46 6	46 6	46 6	49 6	49 6	50 6	50 6	50 6	50 6	50 6	33 17 0	62 3 0		
2 6	2 6	2 6	2 6	2 6	2 6	2 6	2 6	2 6	2 6	2 6	2 6	2 6	2 6	1 15 0	3 7 6		
4 0	4 0	4 0	4 0	4 0	4 0	4 0	4 0	4 0	4 0	4 0	4 0	4 0	4 0	2 16 0	5 8 0		
5 6	5 6	5 6	5 6	5 6	5 6	5 6	5 6	5 6	5 6	5 6	5 6	5 6	5 6	3 17 0	7 8 6		
9 6	9 6	9 6	9 6	9 6	9 6	9 6	9 6	9 6	9 6	9 6	9 6	9 6	9 6	6 13 0	12 16 6		
1 0	1 0	1 0	1 0	1 0	1 0	1 0	1 0	1 0	1 0	1 0	1 0	1 0	1 0	0 14 0	1 7 0		
1 3	1 3	1 3	1 3	1 3	1 3	1 3	1 3	1 3	1 3	1 3	1 3	1 3	1 3	0 17 6	1 13 9		
2 3	2 3	2 3	2 3	2 3	2 3	2 3	2 3	2 3	2 3	2 3	2 3	2 3	2 3	1 11 6	3 0 9		
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1 0 0		
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	2 12 0		
3 0	3 0	3 0	3 0	3 0	3 0	3 0	3 0	3 0	3 0	3 0	3 0	3 0	3 0	2 2 0	4 1 0		
4 0	4 0	4 0	4 0	4 0	4 0	4 0	4 0	4 0	4 0	4 0	4 0	4 0	4 0	2 16 0	4 4 0		
.....		
.....		
7 0	7 0	7 0	7 0	7 0	7 0	7 0	7 0	7 0	7 0	7 0	7 0	7 0	7 0	4 18 0	11 17 0		
1 6	1 6	1 6	1 6	1 6	1 6	1 6	1 6	1 6	1 6	1 6	1 6	1 6	1 6	1 1 0	2 0 6		
1 0	1 0	1 0	1 0	1 0	1 0	1 0	1 0	1 0	1 0	1 0	1 0	1 0	1 0	0 14 0	1 3 0		
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1 3	1 3	1 3	1 3	1 3	1 3	1 3	1 3	1 3	0 11 3	0 11 3		
.....		
.....		
2 6	2 6	2 6	2 6	2 6	3 9	3 9	3 9	3 9	3 9	3 9	3 9	3 9	3 9	2 6 3	3 14 9		
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	5 0	.....	.....	.....	.....	0 5 0	0 15 0		
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	5 0	.....	.....	.....	.....	0 5 0	0 15 0		
70 3	70 3	70 3	70 3	70 3	71 6	71 6	74 6	74 6	75 6	75 6	75 6	75 6	75 6	51 0 9	96 19 6		

1831.	Mar.	April.					May.				June.			First Quarter.
Description and Name.	26.	2.	9.	16.	23.	30.	7.	14.	21.	28.	4.	11.	18.	First Quarter.
	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>£. s. d.</i>
Amounts brought forward	69 9	69 9	69 9	69 9	65 9	65 9	69 9	70 3	76 3	76 3	74 3	71 3	70 3	45 18 9
<i>Casual Relief.</i>														
Brought forward				6 0							4 0			0 10 0
Robert Turner									7 0	7 0	7 0	7 0		1 8 0
Roddis's Wife											8 0	6 0	6 0	1 0 0
				6 0					7 0	7 0	19 0	13 0	6 0	2 18 0
<i>Head Money.</i>														
T. Ludgate	3	3 0	3 0	3 0	3 0	3 0	3 0	3 0	3 0	3 0				1 10 0
W. Tomalin	2	2 0	2 0	2 0	2 0	2 0	2 0	2 0	2 0	2 0				1 0 0
J. Pollard	2	2 0	2 0	2 0	2 0	2 0	2 0	2 0	2 0	2 0				1 0 0
W. Hughes	1	1 0	1 0	1 0	1 0	1 0	1 0	1 0	1 0	1 0				0 10 0
		8 0	8 0	8 0	8 0	8 0	8 0	8 0	8 0	8 0				4 0 0
<i>Employment.</i>														
J. Marlow		7 0	7 0	7 0	7 0	7 0	7 0	7 0	7 0	7 0	7 0	7 0	7 0	4 11 0
J. Turner		6 0	6 0	6 0	6 0	6 0	6 0	6 0	6 0	6 0	6 0	6 0	6 0	3 18 0
J. Price		4 0	4 0	4 0	4 0	4 0	4 0	4 0	4 0	4 0	4 0	4 0	4 0	2 12 0
J. Bush, jun.		8 0	8 0	8 0	8 0	8 0	8 0	8 0	8 0	8 0	8 0	8 0	8 0	5 4 0
T. Ludgate		9 0	9 0	9 0	9 0	9 0	9 0	9 0	9 0	9 0	9 0	9 0	9 0	5 17 0
		34 0	34 0	34 0	34 0	34 0	34 0	34 0	34 0	34 0	34 0	34 0	34 0	22 2 0
		111 9	111 9	111 9	117 9	107 9	107 9	101 9	112 3	125 3	125 3	127 3	118 3	74 18 9

REGULAR EXPENDITURE—*Second Quarter, continued.*

xi

June.		July.				August.				September.				Second Quarter.	First Half.
25.	2.	9.	16.	23.	30.	6.	13.	20.	27.	3.	10.	17.	24.		
s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.
70 3	70 3	70 3	70 3	70 3	71 6	71 6	74 6	74 6	75 6	75 6	75 6	75 6	75 6	51 0 9	96 19 6
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	5 0	.....	.....	.....	.....	0 5 0	0 15 0
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1 8 0
6 0	6 0	6 0	6 0	6 0	4 0	2 0	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1 16 0	2 16 0
.....
.....
6 0	6 0	6 0	6 0	6 0	4 0	2 0	.....	.....	5 0	.....	.....	.....	.....	2 1 0	4 19 0
.....
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1 10 0
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1 0 0
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1 0 0
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	0 10 0
.....
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	4 0 0
7 0	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	0 7 0	4 18 0
6 0	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	0 6 0	4 4 0
4 0	4 0	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	0 8 0	3 0 0
8 0	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	0 8 0	5 12 0
9 0	9 0	9 0	9 0	9 0	9 0	.....	.....	.....	2 0	.....	1 6	.....	5 4	3 2 10	8 19 10
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....
34 0	13 0	9 0	9 0	9 0	9 0	.....	.....	.....	2 0	.....	1 6	.....	5 4	4 11 10	26 13 10
110 3	89 3	85 3	85 3	85 3	84 6	73 6	74 6	74 6	82 6	75 6	77 0	75 6	80 10	57 13 7	132 12 4

REGULAR EXPENDITURE—*Third Quarter.*

1831.		October.					November.				December.						
Description and Name.		1.	8.	15.	22.	29.	5.	12.	19.	26.	3.	10.	17.	24.	Third Quarter.		
		s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	£.	s.	d.
<i>Widows.</i>																	
Douglas		3 0	3 0	3 0	2 0	2 0	2 0	2 0	2 0	2 0	3 0	3 0	3 0	3 0	1	13	0
Maud		dead															
Bloxham.....		1 6	1 6	1 6	1 6	1 6	1 6	1 6	1 6	1 6	1 6	1 6	1 6	1 6	0	19	6
		4 6	4 6	4 6	3 6	3 6	3 6	3 6	3 6	3 6	4 6	4 6	4 6	4 6	2	12	6
<i>Widows with Children.</i>																	
French	2	6 0	6 0	6 0	6 0	6 0	6 0	6 0	6 0	6 0	6 0	6 0	6 0	6 0	3	18	0
Allen	4	8 0	8 0	8 0	8 0	8 0	8 0	8 0	8 0	8 0	8 0	8 0	8 0	8 0	5	4	0
Barton	1																
		14 0	14 0	14 0	14 0	14 0	14 0	14 0	14 0	14 0	14 0	14 0	14 0	14 0	9	2	0
<i>Single Women.</i>																	
Kate Birt		2 6	2 6	2 6	2 6	2 6	2 6	2 6	2 6	2 6	2 6	2 6	2 6	2 6	1	12	6
Hannah Dodd		2 0	2 0	2 0	2 0	2 0	2 0	2 0	2 0	2 0	2 0	2 0	2 0	2 0	1	6	0
		4 6	4 6	4 6	4 6	4 6	4 6	4 6	4 6	4 6	4 6	4 6	4 6	4 6	2	18	6
<i>Widowers.</i>																	
Henry Wimbush...		3 6	3 6	3 6	3 6	3 6	3 6	3 6	3 6	3 6	3 6	3 6	3 6	3 6	2	5	6
Thomas Newberry		1 0	1 0	1 0	1 0	1 0	1 0	1 0	1 0	1 0	1 0	1 0	1 0	1 0	0	13	0
		4 6	4 6	4 6	4 6	4 6	4 6	4 6	4 6	4 6	4 6	4 6	4 6	4 6	2	18	6
<i>Widowers with Children.</i>																	
William Brown	3	4 0	4 0	4 0	4 0	4 0	4 0	4 0	4 0	4 0	4 0	4 0	4 0	4 0	2	12	0
Charles Sewell.....	2	3 0	3 0	3 0	3 0	3 0	3 0	3 0	3 0	3 0	3 0	3 0	3 0	3 0	1	19	0
		7 0	7 0	7 0	7 0	7 0	7 0	7 0	7 0	7 0	7 0	7 0	7 0	7 0	4	11	0
<i>Old Married Men.</i>																	
Daniel Stanton		4 0	4 0	4 0	4 0	4 0	4 0	4 0	4 0	4 0	4 0	4 0	4 0	4 0	2	12	0
John Cadd		5 0	5 0	5 0	5 0	5 0	5 0	5 0	5 0	5 0	5 0	5 0	5 0	5 0	3	5	0
		9 0	9 0	9 0	9 0	9 0	9 0	9 0	9 0	9 0	9 0	9 0	9 0	9 0	5	17	0
<i>Old Married Men with Children.</i>																	
George Jeffs.....	4	7 0	7 0	7 0	7 0	7 0	7 0	7 0	7 0	7 0	7 0	7 0	7 0	7 0	4	11	0
Amounts carried forward	}	50 6	50 6	50 6	49 6	49 6	49 6	49 6	49 6	49 6	50 6	50 6	50 6	50 6	32	10	6

Dec. 1832. January.					February.				March.				Fourth Quarter.	Second Half.	First Half.	The whole Year.
31.	7.	14.	21.	28.	4.	11.	18.	25.	3.	10.	17.	24.				
<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.
75 6	74 6	74 6	74 6	70 6	70 6	68 6	75 6	80 6	74 6	74 6	74 6	74 6	48 2 6	95 11 0	96 19 6	192 10 6
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	0 15 0	0 15 0
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1 8 0	1 8 0
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	6 0	6 0	6 0	6 0	6 0	1 10 0	1 10 0	2 16 0	4 6 0
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	5 0	5 0	5 0	.....	.....	.....	.....	0 15 0	1 15 0	.....	1 15 0
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	10 0	0 10 0	1 2 0	.....	1 2 0
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	5 0	5 0	11 0	6 0	6 0	6 0	16 0	2 15 0	4 7 0	4 19 0	9 6 0
3 0	3 0	3 0	3 0	3 0	3 0	3 0	3 0	3 0	3 0	3 0	3 0	3 0	1 19 0	3 12 0	1 10 0	5 2 0
2 0	2 0	2 0	2 0	2 0	2 0	2 0	2 0	2 0	2 0	2 0	2 0	2 0	1 6 0	2 8 0	1 0 0	3 8 0
2 0	2 0	2 0	2 0	2 0	2 0	2 0	2 0	2 0	2 0	2 0	2 0	2 0	1 6 0	2 8 0	1 0 0	3 8 0
1 0	1 0	1 0	1 0	1 0	1 0	1 0	1 0	1 0	1 0	1 0	1 0	1 0	0 13 0	1 4 0	0 10 0	1 14 0
2 0	2 0	2 0	1 0	1 0	1 0	1 0	1 0	1 0	1 0	1 0	1 0	1 0	0 16 0	1 8 0	.....	1 8 0
10 0	10 0	10 0	9 0	9 0	9 0	9 0	9 0	9 0	9 0	9 0	9 0	9 0	6 0 0	11 0 0	4 0 0	15 0 0
8 0	8 0	8 0	8 0	8 0	8 0	8 0	8 0	8 0	8 0	8 0	8 0	8 0	5 4 0	9 4 0	4 18 0	14 2 0
6 0	6 0	6 0	6 0	6 0	6 0	6 0	6 0	6 0	6 0	6 0	6 0	6 0	3 18 0	7 4 0	4 4 0	11 8 0
4 0	3 0	4 0	4 0	2 0	2 0	.....	.....	.....	2 0	4 0	.....	.....	1 5 0	2 2 0	3 0 0	5 2 0
8 0	8 0	8 0	8 0	8 0	8 0	8 0	8 0	8 0	8 0	8 0	8 0	8 0	5 4 0	8 16 0	5 12 0	14 8 0
9 0	9 0	9 0	9 0	9 0	9 0	9 0	9 0	9 0	9 0	9 0	9 0	9 0	5 17 0	11 14 0	8 19 10	20 13 10
5 0	5 0	5 0	5 0	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1 0 0	2 15 0	.....	2 15 0
4 0	4 0	4 0	4 0	4 0	4 0	4 0	4 0	4 0	4 0	4 0	4 0	4 0	2 12 0	3 5 0	.....	3 5 0
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	7 0	7 0	7 0	7 0	7 0	7 0	7 0	2 9 0	2 9 0	.....	2 9 0
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	3 6	3 6	3 6	3 6	0 14 0	0 14 0	.....	0 14 0
.....
44 0	43 0	44 0	44 0	37 0	37 0	42 0	42 0	42 0	47 6	49 6	45 6	45 6	28 3 0	48 3 0	26 13 10	74 16 10
129 6	127 6	128 6	127 6	116 6	116 6	124 6	131 6	142 6	137 0	139 0	135 0	145 0	85 6 0	159 1 0	132 12 4	291 13 4

ADDITIONAL EXPENDITURE of the Parish of
from 25th March, 1831,

Date.	Description.	Apprentices.	Orders and Removals.	Apparel.
		£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.
March 27	Two Letters.....	.....	.....	.....
28	A Blanket, Mary Walker .....	.....	.....	0 5 6
30	John Thorpe to Mr. Slow, Birmingham.....	8 14 9	.....	.....
April 1	Henry Pargeter's Wife.....	.....	.....	.....
3	Ditto.....Ditto.....	.....	.....	.....
4	Allowing levy 2s., and attendance of assessor on } day of appeal, 3s.	.....	.....	.....
10	Repairing Engine.....	.....	.....	.....
24	William Parsons .....	.....	.....	.....
May 1	Hopkins, including journey.....	.....	1 7 0	.....
6	Conveying Mary Gibbs to Infirmary, &c.....	.....	.....	.....
12	Clerk's fee for Lunatic and Jury Lists .....	.....	.....	.....
16	Stationery, as per bill .....	.....	.....	.....
25	Journey to Magistrate's Meeting with Edward } Kirton	.....	.....	.....
June 3	Three Letters .....	.....	.....	.....
9	John Gardner, for Shoes .....	.....	.....	0 14 0
14	Parish Clerk's Salary.....	.....	.....	.....
19	Constable's Bill .....	.....	.....	.....
24	Assistant Overseer .....	.....	.....	.....
..	His Salary for one quarter .....	.....	.....	.....
..	Surgeon's Salary for one quarter .....	.....	.....	.....
28	Loss on Poor's Coal .....	.....	.....	.....
29	Rent of Coal Barn.....	.....	.....	.....
30	Quarterage and Precepts.....	.....	.....	.....
..	Constable's Bill.....	.....	.....	.....
		8 14 9	1 7 0	0 19 6

in the County of
to 25th March, 1832.

Surgeon and Medical Expenses.	Funerals.	Rents.	County Rate.	Constable.	Assistant Overseer.	Incidental Expenses.	Total.
£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.
.....	0 1 6	0 1 6
.....	0 5 6
.....	8 14 9
0 14 6	0 14 6
.....	3 17 6	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	3 17 6
.....	0 5 0	0 5 0
.....	0 7 6	0 7 6
.....	1 10 0	.....	.....	.....	.....	1 10 0
.....	1 0 0	.....	.....	2 7 0
.....	0 12 8	0 12 8
.....	0 8 0	0 8 0
.....	1 6 7	1 6 7
.....	0 3 6	.....	0 3 6
.....	0 4 8	0 4 8
.....	0 14 0
.....	5 0 0	5 0 0
.....	0 14 6	.....	.....	0 14 6
.....	0 16 8	.....	0 16 8
.....	5 0 0	.....	5 0 0
5 0 0	5 0 0
.....	3 14 7	3 14 7
.....	2 10 0	2 10 0
.....	4 18 8	.....	.....	.....	4 18 8
.....	0 12 6	.....	.....	0 12 6
5 14 6	3 17 6	1 10 0	4 18 8	2 7 0	6 0 2	14 10 6	49 19 7

ANNUAL RECEIPTS of the Parish of
from 25th March, 1831,

Date.	DESCRIPTION.
March 26	Balance received from the hands of the last Overseers
April 7	By a Levy
18	By J. Ward, fourteen weeks due to-day
19	By sale of Work.....
May 1	By T. Watkins, to indemnify him.....
4	By Edward Thomas, one quarter's Rent.....
..	By Henry Eyles, half a year's Rent.....
10	By Overseers of Woodford, for expenses attending Mary Hudson's illness.....
17	By Balance of three Labour Rates
..	By a Levy.....

in the County of
to the 25th March, 1832.

Balance of last year.	Earnings of Paupers.	Rents.	Bastards.	Levy.	Surplus of Labour Rate.	Other Monies.	Total.
£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.
24 15 6	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	24 15 6
.....	.....	.....	.....	74 18 9	.....	.....	74 18 9
.....	.....	.....	2 2 0	.....	.....	.....	2 2 0
.....	0 13 6	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	0 13 6
.....	.....	.....	16 0 0	.....	.....	.....	16 0 0
.....	.....	0 13 0	.....	.....	.....	.....	0 13 0
.....	.....	1 3 0	.....	.....	.....	.....	1 3 0
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1 14 6	1 14 6
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	27 18 6	.....	27 18 6
.....	.....	.....	.....	74 18 9	.....	.....	74 18 9
24 15 6	0 13 6	1 16 0	18 2 0	149 17 6	27 18 6	1 14 6	224 17 6

ANNUAL ACCOUNT of EXPENDITURE and RECEIPTS
Commencing 25th March, 1831,

Description of Items.	First Quarter.	Second Quarter.	First Half.	Third Quarter.	Fourth Quarter.	Second Half.	The whole Year.
	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.
Widows	3 11 0	2 14 0	6 5 0	2 12 6	1 15 6	4 8 0	10 13 0
Widows with Children.....	5 18 0	9 16 0	15 14 0	9 2 0	9 5 6	18 7 6	34 1 6
Single Women.....	2 18 6	3 3 0	6 1 6	2 18 6	2 18 6	5 17 0	11 18 6
Widowers	2 18 6	3 3 0	6 1 6	2 18 6	2 18 6	5 17 0	11 18 6
Widowers with Children	2 12 0	3 17 0	6 9 0	4 11 0	4 11 0	9 2 0	15 11 0
Old Married Men	5 17 0	6 6 0	12 3 0	5 17 0	5 17 0	11 14 0	23 17 0
Old Married Men with Children	4 11 0	4 18 0	9 9 0	4 11 0	4 11 0	9 2 0	18 11 0
Single Men	1 12 6	1 15 0	3 7 6	1 12 6	1 12 6	3 5 0	6 12 6
Children	6 3 6	6 13 0	12 16 6	6 3 6	6 3 6	12 7 0	25 3 6
Boys	1 9 3	1 11 6	3 0 9	1 9 3	1 9 3	2 18 6	5 19 3
Sick List.....	6 19 0	4 18 0	11 17 0	4 16 6	5 16 6	10 13 0	22 10 0
Nurses	1 8 6	2 6 3	3 14 9	0 16 3	1 3 9	2 0 0	5 14 9
Casual Relief.....	2 18 0	2 1 0	4 19 0	1 12 0	2 15 0	4 7 0	9 6 0
Head Money	4 0 0	.....	4 0 0	5 0 0	6 0 0	11 0 0	15 0 0
Employment	22 2 0	4 11 10	26 13 10	20 0 0	28 3 0	48 3 0	74 16 10
Pauper Lunatics							
Prosecuting and defending } Appeals							
Other Law Expenses							
Passing Scotch, Irish, and } other Poor							
Emigrants.....							
Putting out Apprentices.....							
Orders and Removals.....							
Apparel.....							
Surgeon and Medical Expenses							
Funerals.....							
Rents							
County Rate							
Constable							
Assistant Overseer							
Incidental Expenses							
	74 18 9	57 13 7	132 12 4	74 0 6	85 0 6	159 1 0	291 13 4
		74 18 9			74 0 6	132 12 4	
		132 12 4			159 1 0	291 13 4	

For the Parish of

in the County of

and ending 25th March, 1832.

RECEIPTS.

	£.	s.	d.
Balance from last year			
Earnings of Paupers.....			
Rents			
Bastards			
Six Levys, at £ each			
Surplus of Labour Rate.....			
Other Monies.....			
Total.....	£		
Deduct,			
Amount expended as per Account on other side.....			
Balance in hand.....	£		

We have examined these Accounts from time to time, and have found them perfectly correct.

EDWARD HARRIS,

CHARLES HENSMAN,

} Auditors.

7 April, 1832. Verified on the oath of Thomas Jones and William Walker, Overseers, and George Thornton, Assistant Overseer, and allowed by us,

A.

B.

C.

D.

} Magistrates.

The advantage this system of book-keeping might receive if Commissioners were appointed every few years to investigate the mode of arranging the accounts of Parochial Expenditure, would be very considerable. They might follow the plan adopted for ascertaining the state of Parochial Charities, by visiting our Towns, and then summoning the Overseers of the surrounding Villages to produce their accounts. Any defect would be immediately detected, and the uniformity in keeping them correctly preserved.

From the preceding Annual Account of the Expenditure and Receipts, it will be very easy for the Overseers to make up the Return to be made to Parliament, as we find it represented at page xxvii in Appendix (C.)

POOR RETURNS.

To

The Overseer of

in the County of

FREE.

F. Freeling,

(C.)

*Mode of making Return annually in obedience to the
Order of the House of Commons.*

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

— die Februarii, 1832.

ORDERED,

THAT the Churchwardens and Overseers of the Poor, of every Parish, Township, or other Place, in *England* and *Wales*, do prepare—
AN ACCOUNT of the Items of the Total Amount of MONEY levied for Poor Rates and County Rates, or received from any other source, in the Year ending the 25th of *March* next, of this present year 1832, in such Parish, Township, or Place maintaining its own Poor;—and also of the Items of the Total Amount of Money expended that same Year, according to the Schedule on the other side:—and that such Churchwardens and Overseers, or any two of them, do attend at the next Meeting of the Magistrates for the Division, convened for the purpose of receiving such Account, and then and there deliver in such Account, and certify on Oath that it is correct, to the best of their knowledge and belief, under Penalty of Pounds, as fixed by the Act of William the Fourth, cap. .

J. H. LEY,

Cl. Dom. Com.

POOR RATE RETURN for the Year commencing 25 March, 1831, and
ending 25 March, 1832.

			EXPENDITURE.	£. s. d.
County of			To Widows	
Hundred or Wapentake } of			To Widows with Children....	
Parish of			To Single Women.....	
Township or Tything } of			To Widowers	
			To Widowers with Children ..	
			To Old Married Men	
			To Old Married Men with } Children	
RECEIPTS.			To Single Men.....	
			To Children	
By Balance from last year.....	£.	s. d.	To Boys	
By Earnings of Paupers.....	48	5 9	To Sick List.....	
By Rents	6	15 2	To Nurses	
By Bastards	14	17 8	To Casual Relief.....	
By Six Levys, at £118 6s. 5d. } each	25	3 7	To Head Money	
By Surplus of Labour Rate....	709	19 0	To Employment	
By Other Monies	17	1 4	To Pauper Lunatics	
Total.....£	32	8 9	To prosecuting and defend- } ing Appeals	
Deduct,	854	11 3	To other Law Expenses.....	
Expended, as per account } opposite	836	14 1	To passing Scotch, Irish, and } other Poor	
Balance in hand....£	17	17 2	To Emigrants	
THOMAS JONES, } Overseers.			To putting out Apprentices...	
WILLIAM WALKER, }			To Orders and Removals.....	
Sworn before us, this			To Apparel.....	
April, in the year 1832.			To Surgeon and Medical Ex- } penses	
			To Funerals.....	
			To Rents	
			To County Rate	
			To Constable	
			To Assistant Overseer	
			To Incidental Expenses.....	
			Total.....£	836 14 1

POOR RETURNS.

To

The Clerk of

The House of Commons,

LONDON.

FREE.

F. Freeling.

(D).

COMPARATIVE VIEW OF ALL THE COUNTIES OF ENGLAND.

(See Pages 33, 34, and 112.)

	Expenditure per Head.						Expenditure per Acre.											
	In 1803.			In 1829.			In 1748.			In 1803.			In 1829.					
	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Bedford	0	11	7 $\frac{3}{4}$	0	16	3	0	0	6 $\frac{3}{4}$	0	2	6	0	5	2 $\frac{3}{4}$			
Berks	0	15	0	0	14	6 $\frac{1}{2}$	0	0	8	0	3	4	0	4	4			
Bucks	0	16	0 $\frac{1}{4}$	0	17	1 $\frac{1}{4}$	0	0	8 $\frac{3}{4}$	0	3	7 $\frac{1}{4}$	0	5	3			
Cambridge	0	12	0	0	13	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	0	0	4	0	2	0	0	3	5			
Chester	0	6	11 $\frac{1}{4}$	0	5	11 $\frac{3}{4}$	0	0	5 $\frac{1}{4}$	0	2	0	0	2	10 $\frac{3}{4}$			
Cornwall	0	5	9 $\frac{1}{4}$	0	6	5 $\frac{1}{4}$	0	0	2 $\frac{3}{4}$	0	1	3 $\frac{1}{2}$	0	2	4 $\frac{1}{4}$			
Cumberland	0	4	8 $\frac{1}{2}$	0	5	2	0	0	0 $\frac{1}{2}$	0	0	7	0	0	11			
Derby	0	6	9	0	6	3 $\frac{1}{2}$	0	0	3	0	1	8	0	2	2 $\frac{3}{4}$			
Devon	0	8	5 $\frac{1}{2}$	0	8	4 $\frac{3}{4}$	0	0	5 $\frac{1}{4}$	0	1	9	0	2	6			
Dorset	0	11	3 $\frac{3}{4}$	0	10	4 $\frac{1}{4}$	0	0	5	0	2	0	0	2	7 $\frac{1}{4}$			
Durham	0	6	5 $\frac{3}{4}$	0	6	3 $\frac{1}{2}$	0	0	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	0	1	6 $\frac{1}{4}$	0	2	4 $\frac{3}{4}$			
Essex	0	15	7 $\frac{3}{4}$	0	16	6 $\frac{1}{4}$	0	0	10	0	3	7 $\frac{1}{4}$	0	5	4			
Gloucester	0	8	8 $\frac{1}{4}$	0	7	7	0	0	7 $\frac{3}{4}$	0	1	8 $\frac{1}{2}$	0	3	7 $\frac{3}{4}$			
Hereford	0	10	0 $\frac{1}{2}$	0	10	3 $\frac{1}{2}$	0	0	2 $\frac{1}{4}$	0	1	7 $\frac{3}{4}$	0	2	0			
Hertford	0	11	4 $\frac{3}{4}$	0	12	9 $\frac{1}{2}$	0	1	0	0	3	3 $\frac{1}{4}$	0	5	5			
Huntingdon	0	12	9	0	15	7 $\frac{3}{4}$	0	0	3 $\frac{1}{2}$	0	2	0	0	3	6			
Kent	0	13	5	0	14	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	0	0	10 $\frac{1}{4}$	0	4	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	0	6	11			
Lancaster	0	4	5	0	4	7 $\frac{1}{4}$	0	0	5	0	2	6 $\frac{1}{4}$	0	4	5 $\frac{1}{2}$			
Leicester	0	12	3 $\frac{1}{2}$	0	10	10	0	0	3 $\frac{3}{4}$	0	3	1 $\frac{1}{4}$	0	4	1 $\frac{3}{4}$			
Lincoln	0	9	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	0	10	9 $\frac{1}{2}$	0	0	2	0	1	1	0	1	11 $\frac{1}{2}$			
Middlesex	0	8	6 $\frac{1}{4}$	0	9	8 $\frac{1}{2}$	0	8	11 $\frac{1}{2}$	1	18	8	3	14	1 $\frac{1}{2}$			
Monmouth	0	8	0	0	4	8 $\frac{1}{4}$	0	0	2 $\frac{1}{4}$	0	1	1 $\frac{3}{4}$	0	1	5 $\frac{1}{4}$			
Norfolk	0	12	5	0	14	1 $\frac{3}{4}$	0	0	5 $\frac{3}{4}$	0	2	6 $\frac{1}{4}$	0	4	3 $\frac{1}{4}$			
Northampton	0	14	4 $\frac{1}{2}$	0	15	8 $\frac{3}{4}$	0	0	5	0	2	10 $\frac{3}{4}$	0	4	4			
Northumberland..	0	6	8	0	6	6	0	0	0 $\frac{3}{4}$	0	0	10 $\frac{1}{4}$	0	1	2 $\frac{1}{2}$			
Nottingham	0	6	3 $\frac{3}{4}$	0	6	1 $\frac{3}{4}$	0	0	2	0	1	7 $\frac{3}{4}$	0	2	7			
Oxford	0	16	2 $\frac{1}{4}$	0	16	3 $\frac{1}{4}$	0	0	6 $\frac{1}{4}$	0	3	8 $\frac{1}{4}$	0	5	2 $\frac{1}{2}$			
Rutland	0	10	0	0	9	5 $\frac{1}{4}$	0	0	2 $\frac{1}{4}$	0	1	7 $\frac{1}{4}$	0	1	10 $\frac{3}{4}$			
Salop	0	8	0	0	7	5	0	0	2 $\frac{1}{4}$	0	1	6 $\frac{1}{2}$	0	1	10 $\frac{1}{4}$			
Somerset	0	8	10 $\frac{3}{4}$	0	7	8	0	0	6	0	2	4	0	3	0			
Southampton	0	11	3 $\frac{1}{2}$	0	12	3 $\frac{1}{2}$	0	0	5	0	2	5	0	3	8 $\frac{1}{2}$			
Stafford	0	7	0	0	5	9	0	0	3 $\frac{1}{4}$	0	2	3 $\frac{1}{4}$	0	3	3 $\frac{1}{4}$			
Suffolk	0	11	5 $\frac{1}{4}$	0	16	4 $\frac{1}{4}$	0	0	7 $\frac{1}{4}$	0	2	6	0	5	0			
Surrey	0	10	0	0	10	0	0	1	1 $\frac{1}{4}$	0	5	6 $\frac{1}{4}$	0	10	0			
Sussex	1	2	7 $\frac{3}{4}$ *	0	17	3 $\frac{3}{4}$	0	0	6 $\frac{1}{4}$	0	3	10	0	5	0 $\frac{1}{4}$			
Warwick	0	11	3	0	8	5	0	0	5	0	4	0 $\frac{3}{4}$	0	4	10 $\frac{3}{4}$			
Westmoreland ...	0	6	7 $\frac{3}{4}$	0	9	1	0	0	1	0	0	7	0	1	0			
Wilts	0	13	5	0	14	6	0	0	6 $\frac{1}{4}$	0	2	10 $\frac{3}{4}$	0	3	11			
Worcester	0	10	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	0	7	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	0	0	5	0	3	0 $\frac{1}{2}$	0	3	3 $\frac{1}{2}$			
York, E.	0	7	5 $\frac{1}{2}$	0	11	6 $\frac{3}{4}$	0	0	1 $\frac{1}{4}$	0	1	0 $\frac{1}{4}$	0	2	5 $\frac{1}{4}$			
Do. N.	0	5	5	0	7	1	0	0	1	0	0	8 $\frac{3}{4}$	0	1	2 $\frac{1}{2}$			
Do. W.	0	6	7 $\frac{1}{4}$	0	5	4 $\frac{3}{4}$	0	0	3	0	2	3	0	3	2			
All England	0	9	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	0	9	3 $\frac{1}{4}$	0	0	5	0	2	4 $\frac{1}{2}$	0	3	9			

* At page 34 there is an error. The Expenditure for Sussex in 1803 should be 179,858*l.*, and per head 1*l.* 2*s.* 7 $\frac{3}{4}$ *d.* instead of 1*l.* 2*s.* 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ *d.*: which makes the difference at the foot of that page to be 5*s.* 4*d.*

(E.)*—ABSTRACT of the RETURNS sent to the

27.—County of

Name of DISTRICT or PARISH.	Query 1. Do any Labourers in your district, employed by the Farmers, receive either the whole or any part of the wages of their labour out of the Poor Rates?	Q. 2. Is it usual in your district, for Married Labourers, having Children, to receive assistance from the Parish Rate?	Q. 3. If so, does such allowance begin when they have one Child, or more?	Q. 4. Is it usual for the Overseers of the Poor to send round to the Farmers, Labourers who cannot find work, to be paid partly by the Employer, and partly out of the Poor Rate?
BASSETLAW HUNDRED...	Yes.	Yes, but not on account of their having Children.	.....	Yes.
NEWARK DIVISION	Yes, part.	Yes, during sickness, and when out of employ.	.....	Yes.
SOUTH DIVISION	This depends on the number of the family, and his daily earnings.	.....	Not unless they have four Children.	Yes.
SOUTHWELL DIVISION ...	No.	Not usual.	.....	No.

33.—County of

ARUNDEL RAPE, Lower Division }	No.	Yes.	When more than two Children.	No.
CHICHESTER RAPE, Upper Division }	Occasionally.	Yes.	When more than two Children.	Occasionally.
CHICHESTER RAPE, Lower Division }	No.	Yes.	When they have three Children.	No.
EASTGRINSTEAD DIVISION	In some few instances.	Yes.	Generally when they have three Children.	No.
HAILSHAM DISTRICT	Yes.	Yes.	Generally when they have three Children.	No.
HASTINGS RAPE	Yes.	Yes.	Generally when they have three Children.	Yes.
HORSHAM	No.	Yes.	Generally when more than three Children.	No.
LEWES RAPE	In one or two parishes only.	Yes.	Generally when they have two Children.	In one or two parishes only.
LEWES BOROUGH,	In some parishes.	Yes.	When they have three Children.	By no means general.
STEYNING	No.	Yes.	When they have three Children.	Yes.

* See P.S. page 36.

COMMITTEE on LABOURERS' WAGES, 1824.

NOTTINGHAM.

Q. 5. Has the number of unemployed Labourers asking assistance from the Parish, increased or diminished within the last few years?	Q. 6. What is the lowest rate of daily wages you have known paid to an unmarried Labourer, by his Employer, during the last year?	Q. 7. Have Select Vestries or Assistant Overseers been established in your neighbourhood?	Q. 8. If so, what effects have they produced?	Q. 9. What is the usual rate of wages in your District?	REMARKS.
Diminished during the last year.	Eighteen-pence.	Both.	Beneficial.	Ten to twelve shillings per week.	This Division consists of ninety parishes.
Diminished.	Fourteen-pence.	In a few parishes.	Doubtful.	Ten shillings per week.	
Diminished.	Nine-pence.	In a few parishes.	Doubtful.	Ten shillings per week.	
Diminished.	Sixteen-pence.	Assistant Overseers in a few instances.	.....	Ten shillings per week.

SUSSEX.

Increased in some parishes, and decreased in others.	Sixpence.	Two Select Vestries, and one Assistant Overseer.	Beneficial.	Nine and ten shillings per week.	This Division contains forty-five parishes.
Diminished.	Sixteen-pence.	Yes.	Beneficial.	Nine to ten shillings per week.	
Diminished.	One shilling.	Assistant Overseers in some few instances.	Beneficial.	Nine shillings per week.	
Increased.	Eight-pence.	Both.	Rather beneficial.	Eight to ten shillings per week.	
Increased.	Eight-pence.	No.	.....	Eight shillings per week.
Increased.	Nine-pence.	Yes.	Beneficial.	Nine to ten shillings and sixpence per week.	
Increased.	One shilling.	Generally in large parishes.	Beneficial.	Ten shillings per week.	
Increased.	Eight-pence.	Yes, both.	Beneficial.	Ten shillings and sixpence per week.	
Increased.	Eight-pence.	Both.	Beneficial.	Ten shillings and sixpence per week.	
Diminished.	One shilling.	In few instances.	.....	Nine and ten shillings per week.

